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INDIA: A NATION

ANNIE BESANT



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Montagu, India Secretary, Arrives to Take Up Work

~~1917~~
BOMBAY. Nov. 11.—Edwin Samuel Montagu, secretary for India, has arrived here.

Mr. Montagu was appointed secretary for India last July. A London dispatch in August said he would go to India at a later date to take up reform of the government there. Mr. Montagu said the policy of the British government was for increasing association of Indians with every branch of the Indian administration and gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to realizing a responsible government in India as an integral part of the British empire.

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INDIA: A NATION

A PLEA FOR INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT

By ANNIE BESANT

WITH A FOREWORD BY

C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS



"No nation can be perfectly well governed till it is
competent to govern itself."—MACAULAY.

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FOREWORD

THE purpose of a Foreword is twofold. It may introduce to the public either the author or the subject. Mrs. Annie Besant is known to the English world as an untiring public worker, as the associate of Charles Bradlaugh, and as the head of various important movements and a protagonist in the struggle for the extension of women's rights. To the public of India she is even more familiar. Apart from her religious activities, she has laboured long and hard in the educational field, and her name will be imperishably linked with the Central Hindū College, Benares, the Hindū University to be. In the region of social amelioration and the uplifting of the backward classes she has worked no less earnestly, and it would be impertinent for anyone to introduce her to the public. It is the conviction all over India that in her political activities tending towards the betterment of Indian conditions she will be no less successful in her organisation of forces than she has been in other departments. These few lines have been written by one who can claim to be only an exponent of the average opinion of the younger generation of educated Indians, who though they may not profess any religious allegiance to the author yet feel that in her India has one of her truest friends and warmest advocates.

This book is intended primarily as an appeal to the British Democracy. Notwithstanding the efforts made by a gallant band of men in Parliament and out of it, the ignorance of the average Englishman concerning Indian conditions and feelings is appalling, and it may easily be gauged from a study of any current periodical or magazine dealing with Indian topics. The war has, undoubtedly, brought in a new point of view. Amidst its ghastly train of evils, there has been created a sense of solidarity and fellow-feeling amongst all the component parts of the British Empire which is of most happy augury. The Englishman is beginning to feel that the Indian is not aloof nor unconcerned with his troubles, but is willing to shoulder the burdens of the Empire and is also fit to be trusted with the responsibilities of it. This volume will open the eyes of the British to actual Indian conditions as perceived

from the Indian point of view, and the author, it is needless to say, has attempted to elucidate the true interests of India and sought to reconcile them with the larger interests of the Empire as a whole ; and she has brought to the consideration of her subject the advantages afforded by a long study of political problems and an intimate and personal knowledge of Indian conditions and feelings. Perhaps no other person born outside the Indian pale has entered so thoroughly as Mrs. Besant has done into our minds and emotions.

A recent volume by Mr. Radhakumad Mukerji, on the *Fundamental Unity of India*, has sought to teach the lesson that amidst various seeming and superficial differences India is essentially one in her traditions, in the outlook of her peoples, and in their general capabilities. In this little book also the author has striven to deduce from the history of the past, the lesson that India has been able to achieve unity in political aspirations and conduct, and that she has been able to govern herself in the past, and will be so able to govern herself in the future within the Empire, provided she is trusted. The lesson that is attempted to be conveyed, is that India need not be in leading-strings during the whole of her political future. However much even an unsympathetic reader may differ from the author in details and in specific lessons to be drawn from events, he can scarcely gainsay the fact that a perusal of these pages will lead to the belief that in the past India has had an organic political development along indigenous lines, and that a healthy civic and corporate life was attained by means of the organisation and development of the village community and the panchayat systems. The author has also succeeded in showing that progress is best attainable by adhering to the genius of the race and developing along its own lines of least resistance. To achieve this, the aim of the rulers ought to be not to brush aside or ignore the history of the past, but to instil a love and reverence for national religion and traditions, and so to educate the peoples as to foster a true spirit of patriotism which alone will lead to self-realisation. Manhood is attained not by repression but through healthy, albeit unruly, growth. So long as we are afraid of small differences or difficulties, and so long as our rulers will recognise them as obstacles, so long shall we continue in our present amorphous condition. If a child is discouraged by fears of falling it will never learn to walk. By hammering out our differences and by our failures alone shall we achieve success.

After discussing the political and economic history of

ancient India, the author has summarised the results of British rule, and she has been very strong in her statement of the case that Britain has up to now failed in educating the people of India to govern themselves. Every Indian feels that it is to Britain that he owes his ideals of liberty and of political enfranchisement; but it is patent that the aim of the rulers in the past has been to organise an elaborate system to keep the peace rather than to organise Self-Government. The blessings that have followed in the wake of British rule are manifold and striking, but, whilst young India recognises and is grateful for them, it also feels that perfection of bureaucratic government can be bought too dearly when the price of it is a mechanical existence. To quote an oft-cited saying, "good government" is no substitute for Self-Government.

After outlining the system of Indian polity and pointing out that there are serious deficiencies in the administration of the country which have yet to be remedied, and great and long-standing grievances to be redressed, such as the Land Revenue Administration and the helotage imposed by the Arms Regulations, the author has, as her main thesis, endeavoured to emphasize the economic troubles of India and the faults of her educational system, and striven to awake British Democracy to the urgent necessity for the overhauling of governmental theories and practice on these subjects. So far as our economic condition is concerned, the whole of thinking India feels that a system has been forced upon the country which, in the language of the present Secretary of State for India, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, is "hateful to Indian opinion." "No tariff reformer," he says in his introduction to Sir Roper Lethbridge's *Indian Offer of Preference*, "need dispute that, left to themselves, Indian representatives would establish a system of pure protection directed as much against Great Britain as against the rest of the world." It is certain that excise on cotton goods manufactured locally is detrimental to Indian interests. The nascent and growing industries of this country have been victimised by the competition of far-seeing and strong rivals, and it is felt throughout the land that the fiscal and economic policies that have been pursued by England in relation to India need thorough revision. It would not be the language of exaggeration to say that nothing has more shaken the faith of India in the principles of justice on which undeniably the British rule is based, than the partiality with reference to Lancashire, and Sir Valentine Chirol, who is certainly not partial to advanced

Indian aspirations, has characterised the treatment in this respect by England of India as a permanent discredit to British rule. If there is one matter in which India needs encouragement more than in another, it is in the direction of industrial growth, so as to relieve the tension on agricultural industry and to develop the tremendous resources of the country. For far too long a period we have been dominated by antiquated Cobdenism. The subsidised goods of foreign and protected countries have been thrust upon us. The hobby has been ridden to death that all taxation must be for revenue only. Taxing as a means of supporting young industries has not been even dreamt of. Most of our rivals are consistently Protectionist, and our trade is passing into their hands. We have not, in spite of appeals from the press and platform, even the right to help ourselves against competitors outside the Empire. The cotton excise duties are an unheard-of form of discouragement, and India is forbidden to levy for her own purposes export duties on commodities which are her natural monopolies, such as jute. The result is that the Government are at their wits' end to devise fresh sources of revenue, and cannot properly grapple with new and expanding items of expenditure. Indian tariffs as maintained at present are the best possible means for bringing about the strangulation of industries, the needless enhancement of the cost of various commodities, and the increase of indefensible taxation. An export duty on jute and an import duty on sugar and foreign cotton goods were both advocated by Mr. Gokhale, but his was a voice in the wilderness. Not otherwise than by complete fiscal autonomy do we feel that we shall have a fair chance in the struggle for national existence.

Japan, with the true statesmanship which has characterised her recent history, has demonstrated that her political alliance with England will not stand in the way of a preferential tariff against her ally. It is often forgotten, too, that such autonomy would largely benefit Indian finance, and that the financial position of India will stand on a much securer footing if a juster treatment is accorded to Indian commerce, because India is, in the main, a great debtor country, and she has to pay large sums by way of interest on loans for her railway and public debt; a policy which will keep the profits within the Empire is surely the best even from the most selfish point of view. The case for Indian preference as linked up with an Imperial system has often been presented, notably by Sir Gangadar Chitnavis and by Mr. Gokhale; but the urgency of the problem needs a restatement of it.

No one can also deny that the plea for just treatment of India from an educational as well as from an economic and fiscal point of view is opportune and necessary. In Japan, a few years ago, education was exclusively literary, and as barren of results as at any time in this country; but by actively associating the people with the State, and embarking on large schemes with a single eye to national advancement, research has been stimulated, universities, which are true homes of culture, have been founded and developed, and technical education has been elevated to its proper place in the equipment of the nation. This book would be of permanent value if only for its timely insistence on an adequate comprehension of the national past and the instilling of a true spirit of patriotism in the youth of the country as an essential element of national education. In these and other matters, India and Anglo-India differ inevitably in their views, and especially in the matter of apportioning blame or praise; but in the main arguments of the book, I may venture to assert that the author has the whole of educated India behind her; namely, that the fiscal policy of Britain needs readjustment, that the education imparted in the country is defective in its scope and its aim, and lastly, that an adequate solution of Indian problems is achievable only by the grant of Self-Government—such government being based on national traditions and on the old national institutions of panchayats and village communities. It may be asserted that the present is an unseasonable time to emphasize and insist on these things, and that nothing matters now but the war; but it must not be forgotten that India's loyalty can least be questioned at the present moment. In finding fault with the systems of administration, Indian public men have never failed to realise that under the rule of no other country would such a frank and free discussion be possible, and the cant about educated India being a microscopical and negligible minority can no longer be solemnly trotted forth. It has been realised throughout the Empire that the inter-relation between the various parts of it must and will be profoundly modified after this war, not as a reward for the services of the various Dominions and Provinces, but by reason of the readjustment of the mental focus. The presence of a Canadian Minister "at a Cabinet meeting is not a boon" but a recognition of union. It is often said that India expects boons for her memorable participation in the struggle. Nothing can be falsier. She craves for no boon. What she expects, on the other hand, is that the

realisation of India's loyalty and manhood will lead the British Democrat to bestow adequate attention on Indian problems, to redress inequalities, to restore Indian self-respect, and to consent to India taking her proper place in the federation of the Empire. Shall we hope that no distinctions will be drawn between the "Empire of Settlement" and the "Empire of Rule"?

C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.

PREFATORY NOTE

THE Indian National Movement in its political aspect began, as an organised body, in 1884, and worked as a single body until 1907. In that year was formed what was called the "New Party"; it consisted of those who in Mahārāshtra were represented by Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, and in Bengal by Mr. Arabindo Ghosh and Mr. Bepin Chandra Pāl. This party had been gradually separating off from the mass of the Congressmen, driven by the Curzonian policy into despair of gaining from Great Britain any effective changes in the government of India; within it there was again the difference that while Mr. Tilak was willing to maintain the British connection, if Self-Government were granted, the Bengal leaders aimed at complete separation, and refused all co-operation with Britons. The Congressmen, while aiming at Self-Government, had taken the path of the introduction of gradual reforms, co-operating with the Government where the Government was going along the right lines, but acting normally as "His Majesty's Opposition." The split at the Surat Congress divided these; the latter carried on the Congress, while Mr. Tilak's party stood aloof from it, and the Bengal party rejected it wholly.

In the rapid growth of India, the Congressmen, united in essentials, are gradually shaping themselves into two great natural groups of elders and youngers. The elders, those who have led the Congress from the beginning, cling to the old methods, and still ask for the ungranted reforms which they asked for in 1885. They have won many reforms already, and they will be satisfied if the pace of reforms is much quickened, and if Self-Government be definitely aimed at. The youngers, thanks to the progress made by the elders, and instinct with the life of New India, passionately patriotic and resolute to win freedom, intensely resenting the inferiority imposed upon them, put Self-Government in the forefront of their programme; while willing to help in gaining reforms, they feel that all those will follow as a matter of course if they first win Self-Government, and that the demand for this should be made in unfaltering accents. Mr. Gokhale stood as a link between elders and youngers, wholly in sympathy with the

youngers, but affectionately clinging to the elders beside whom he had fought in the earlier days, and acknowledging their leadership. The youngers are gradually organising themselves, and among their coming leaders the writer of the above Foreword occupies a prominent place. The youngers are weak in Bombay (City) but strong over all the rest of India, especially in Bengal, the United Provinces, and Madras.

The Historical Introduction, so compressed as to lose the weight it ought to have, and the details of which should be studied in the books named in the Bibliography, must be the background of all true thought about India, and is absolutely necessary for understanding her. The succeeding chapters give: I. The Religious Revival, preceding and creating the new National party. II. The Economic Conditions which form the material basis of the necessity for Self-Government. III. The Educational Position. IV. The Modern National Movement. V. An Outline of the Machinery of Self-Government, and the existing materials therefor.

Nationality is a sentiment, but it is a sentiment which creates and destroys. How strong it is, how mighty the Patriotism which is its child, may be seen in the European war now raging. There is a hope in Indian hearts that the feeling forced upon Great Britain of the intolerableness of the idea of her reduction under a foreign yoke, as voiced by Mr. Asquith, may awaken in her heart a sympathy with the identical feeling existing in India to-day.

For nearly two-and-twenty years I have lived among Indians, not as a foreigner but as one of themselves. Hindū in all save the outer ceremonies for which my white skin disqualifies me, living in Indian fashion, feeling with Indian feelings, one with Indians in heart, in hopes, in aspirations, in labours for the country, knowing their weakness as well as their strength, I dare to claim an intimacy of knowledge and an identity of sentiment which qualify me for stating, as far as may be in such brief compass, the case for India—a Nation.

ANNIE BESANT.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD	iii
PREFATORY NOTE	ix
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION	13
CHAP.	
I. RELIGION AND NATIONALITY	19
II. THE ECONOMIC POSITION	34
III. EDUCATION	50
IV. THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT	66
V. SELF-GOVERNMENT	80
CONCLUSION	91
INDEX	93



INDIA: A NATION

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

WITH SOME CONCLUSIONS

To the mass of the British Democracy India is little more than a name, with a vague indeterminate history of religion, quarrelling States, general insecurity—curiously accompanied with enormous wealth—until the East India Company and Clive introduced British rule, enlightened her darkness with Western civilisation, imposed peace and security upon her—curiously accompanied with widespread poverty, recurring famines, and no possible margin for increased taxation. She enjoys the “best Civil Service in the world,” and this claims to have won Indian love and loyalty; yet the country can only be held down by a mass of coercive legislation, by forbidding the possession of arms and volunteering except to Christians, by securities imposed on the Press, house-searches by the police, the right to forbid public meetings, to deport, to imprison without trial, to demand securities for good behaviour from men of position, high character and blameless life—save for aspirations to Self-Government and freedom of speech, creditable outside India. This strange juxtaposition of good government and widespread discontent deserves examination. The rally of India to the Empire astonished no one more than the members of the Civil Service; they plume themselves on it as a testimony to the goodness of their rule. But India looked beyond them to the Ideals of Liberty for which Britain has stood and is now standing, and her enthusiasm is for the Crowned Commonwealth of Free Nations, among whom she aspires to be one, and not for un-British autocratic rule in India. She stands on her past, and claims her future.

Indian Nationality has, as its original basis, unity of religion, and the daily prayers of her Hindū population keep this unity ever before their eyes. They recite the names of the sacred rivers, the sacred cities, from the Himalayan

shrines to Rameshnaran in the extreme south, and these have, from the dawn of history to the present day, been places of pilgrimage, knitting the whole Hindū population into one nation; they have a common literature of sacred books, of ancient histories, of epic poems, of dramas, familiar to all the people, welding them into one whole, one identity of traditions, of heroes and heroines whose stories are still acted among the masses. The differences are superficial; the unity is fundamental. None can understand modern India who is ignorant of ancient India; how ancient, who may tell? It is admitted that where her Puranas (ancient history) touch archæological discoveries they are found to be extraordinarily accurate; coins, inscriptions, unburied ruins, all confirm them, so far as these have gone.

India touches acknowledged history as a wealthy and prosperous country, trading with Babylon the Great in 3000 B.C. In 2034 B.C., Semiramis of Nineveh invades her, and commemorates it with a pillar. Mummies in Egyptian tombs, 2000 B.C., are wrapped in finest Indian muslin. Rameses II invaded her, 981 B.C. Hiram of Tyre traded with her 980 B.C., and Tamil names of her products are found in the Hebrew Scriptures. Darius of Persia invaded her in the sixth century B.C., and drew an annual tribute of gold-dust to the value of £1,000,000 sterling from Sindh and part of the Panjab. Alexander of Greece invaded her in 327 B.C., and, like Semiramis, penetrated as far as Jammu. A large trade was carried on B.C. and A.D. with Rome, and an embassy congratulated Augustus Cæsar, 20 B.C., and another went to Trajan, A.D. 99. Pliny the Elder complains of the drain of gold to India, a complaint repeated by Bernier in the seventeenth century A.D. Babylon, Nineveh, Egypt, Persia, Palestine, Rome—all have passed away; India lives. She was their equal in the days of their glory; their history is sought in their sepulchres; hers is still being written. Only as the significance of these facts is grasped, can the pride of India be understood, and the bitterness of her resentment in being a subject nation to-day. Indian history is a continuum. There are invasions and local conquests, empires rising and falling, but India remains. She has assimilated Greeks, Parthians, Huns, Scythians, Syrians, Pathans, Turcomans, Persians, Mughals, and will assimilate English, if they remain long enough; they all become Indians; they enrich, they do not absorb her.

Vincent Smith tells us of highly civilised communities which had existed for untold centuries, and sixteen kingdoms

between the Himalayas and the Nerbudda, in the middle of the seventh century B.C. Chandragupta Maulya built up his splendidly organised empire from the Hindū Kush to the Nerbudda, from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal after the retreat of Alexander, and Megasthenes has left a full account of its wealth, its prosperity; the village units were little "independent republics"; there was no slavery; the women were chaste, the men brave, honest, truthful. Chandragupta's son extended the empire as far south as modern Madras. Then came Ashoka, whose edicts are known, even in the West. Three great kingdoms divided the south; one of these, the Pāndya, a great trading Tamil kingdom and with a splendid literature, is put as existing at 2000 B.C. in a Madras Government Manual, and lasted till A.D. 1731. One of its kings, in 543 B.C., gave a daughter in marriage to Vijaya, the invader of Ceylon. Another huge empire rose in the fourth century A.D. under another Chandragupta, and his son, Samudragupta, was acknowledged Lord Paramount of India *circa* A.D. 340. His son's empire was visited by Fu-Hien, who left his testimony to its splendour and prosperity, and especially to the extraordinary liberty enjoyed by the people; the roads were entirely free from thieves, and travel was safe; there was no capital punishment, and no torture. The empire fell under the invasions of the Huns.

An incident, showing something of the wealth of India, is related by Hinen-Tsang, who says that the then King Harsha, in A.D. 644, held a seventy-five days' festival at Prayāg, at which half a million of people were present, and Harsha distributed among them all the wealth he had accumulated during the preceding five years, and he had done this every five years for thirty years. The scale may be imagined from one day's gifts to 10,000 Buddhist monks, each receiving 100 gold coins, one pearl, and one cloth. This same festival is still held, but without a Harsha.

In the eighth century A.D. came the first Arab invaders, who conquered Sindh, but were thrown back from Rajputāna. The next Musalman invasion was in A.D. 986, under the Sultan of Ghazni, who fixed himself at Peshawar. His son, Muhammad, raided the north seventeen times, and settled in Lahore in A.D. 1021. Then followed five centuries of struggle, the quarrels of the Rajput chiefs aiding the Musalman invaders. Prithvirāj, the last Hindū Chief of Delhi, was killed in 1193, and the Pathan became Lord of the Empire City, and ruled till 1526, when Bāhar was

proclaimed there Emperor of India, founding the great Mughal dynasty, that fell finally in the Sepoy Rebellion of 1857. It is interesting to note that in these centuries of warfare, except during the inroads of the Huns, and the raids before 1021, the peasantry did not suffer. As the producers of wealth, they were held sacred. The warrior caste bore all the brunt of the fighting, and the village communities went on, agricultural and artisan, indifferent to the warriors and the governments. Hence the wealth of India suffered little, and all invaders who came to stay took care not to kill the goose who laid the golden eggs.

The south of India went on in its own way, trading and studying, with stray fights and forays. A Rajput chief set up a fine kingdom in the Deccan, A.D. 550, and his dynasty lasted till 1190. Some Musalman raids occur, carrying off jewels mostly, eight maunds of pearls, diamonds, and other gems (maund=82 lb. avoirdupois) being collected by Ala-uddin as ransom in 1294. The great kingdom of Vijayanagar, again, flourished from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. On the whole, during the centuries from the eleventh to the seventeenth India was no more disturbed than Europe, and was incomparably wealthier, more civilised, and more refined.

Akbar, from 1556 to 1605, for tolerance, justice, for ideals, outshone any contemporary monarch. His son, Jehangir, opened the gate of India in 1613 to English trade. Jehangir's land-tax from a wealthy and prosperous peasantry amounted to £17,500,000 millions. Things continued well under his son, Shah Jehan, and then came Aurung-Zeb, the destroyer, who shattered, before his death in 1706, the power of the empire. But still the people were rich; his land-tax—increased by conquests—was £38,000,000, and a century later it still stood at £34,506,640. The cultivators then paid out of their wealth, under an easy-going administration, which took its share in kind, varying with the amount of produce, a tax which now, out of their poverty, crushes them to the ground.

The rise of the Marātha power is the last splendour of Indian history. The story of Shivāji's courage and far-seeing genius, of the Marātha Confederacy which was the outcome of his thought, should be read in Mr. Justice Ranade's book. The prejudiced English reports should be disregarded, for the Marāthas are the people most feared and therefore most hated by our Anglo-Indians—witness the cruel treatment of Mr. Balgangadhar Tilak.

We have seen the first humble coming of British traders into India in 1613. Danes, Austrians, Prussians, started

Companies, after the first chartering of the English Company by Elizabeth; Portuguese, Dutch, French had preceded the English, and were the serious rivals of the latter; they were all attracted by India's unparalleled wealth and prosperity, testimony of her ability to rule herself since at least 3000 B.C. The Dutch were pushed out of India proper, save for a few scattered towns; Portuguese made little way; French and English traders were the real antagonists, and they fought like traders, careless of honour and treaty, careful only of gain. "Bold, unscrupulous adventurers they were for the most part, the 'bad boys' of the family, like Clive." They fomented all disputes; allied themselves with ruler or rebel, as suited their purpose; hired out troops to fight a rival, and then helped the rival when the other grew strong. The quarrels, and wars, and rebellions of the eighteenth century were often started, always fomented, alike by French and English, and the disturbances which, after the defeat of the French, England claimed, to have terminated, were largely of her own making. The forged treaty by which Clive cheated Omichand, the shameful sale by Hastings of British soldiers to murder the Rohillas, the swindling of the child Nawab of Bengal, the murder of Nanda Kumar, the starvation of the Begums of Oudh and the torture of their stewards, the innumerable cruelties and exactions such as India had never known—are they not written in the chronicles of that awful century. We have seen the results—the reduction of the richest country in the world to the poorest.

Gleams of light came in the nineteenth century, when the British Parliament, jealous of the East India Company, insisted on inquiry before renewing its Charter. In the reports before the renewals of 1833 and 1853 we have authentic descriptions of the misery of the people, and can compare their condition with what it was when India governed herself. Even this check vanished when the Crown took over the government in 1858. Between 1833 and 1858, many real benefits had been bestowed upon India in education, as we shall see later, and the inspiration she has breathed in from English history and literature has awakened her from the stupor caused by incursion of the foreign elements and their fighting and their sordid trade quarrels on her soil.

The discontent caused by the heavy burdens imposed on the people, the ousting of her sons from all authority on their own soil, the denial of all right of representation, the refusal to carry out the whole proclamation of the Queen-

Empress, the often-recurring land settlements, reducing the peasantry to hopeless poverty, the taxation for foreign and trans-frontier wars, the Act depriving men of the right to bear arms, and leaving them helpless before wild beasts and robbers—all these led to such unrest, that only the founding of the Indian National Congress prevented serious trouble, turning men's minds to peaceful methods of reform, and giving them hope which enabled them to endure.

India is held down by a series of coercive enactments which, in any other country, Britain would be the first to denounce. She asks why she, after 5000 years of self-government, which raised her to a point which attracted to her every covetous European nation, to "shake the pagoda tree," should now, alone among civilised nations, require a foreign autocracy to preserve order? She has been invaded before, and has assimilated the foreigners, who have become her children. She has never before been under an iron foreign rule *as a whole*, so that the wish for liberty is held to be treason. Other invaders fraternised with her and opened all places in Government to her sons; now they are excluded and despised. After fifty-two years of Crown Government, to be given *one* Indian in the Viceroy's Council was thought a wonderful boon! The crushing pressure of one foreign rule has emasculated the nation. Indians hesitate where they should act; they ask where they should take; they submit where they should resist; they lack self-confidence and the audacity that commands success. Prompt, resolute, effective action is but too rare. They lack fire and enthusiasm. As Mr. Gokhale said: "The excessive costliness of the foreign agency is not, however, its only evil. There is a moral evil, which, if anything, is even greater. A kind of dwarfing or stunting of the Indian race is going on under the present system. We must live all the days of our life in an atmosphere of inferiority, and the tallest of us must bend in order that the exigencies of the existing system may be satisfied." This is the deepest, gravest wrong that Britain has inflicted on once a mighty and imperial race. And this is the wrong that festers in every patriotic Indian heart. Britain found a nation of warriors; she is reducing them to a nation of clerks.

India thinks that as she built up wealth, prosperity, culture, for an admitted 5000 years, she would not relapse into barbarism by even the sudden withdrawal of a rule that has only existed, and that partially, for 157 years, of which the first fifty were spent in plundering, to which only ceased constant wars and annexations in 1856. and has even since

then, invaded Afghanistan and Tibet, and annexed Burma. She does not, however, wish to withdraw from the Empire, but only to be mistress in her own house. India would welcome British co-operation, but is tired of British domination. She is determined to get rid of coercion and to have Self-Government, and while wishing to gain it with England's help, she is resolved to have it. She is willing to let bygones be bygones, if Britain will treat with her on equal terms, as a partner, not a dependent.

India would establish an elected government, and require no foreign degrees for admission to office in her own country; would abolish the India Office, and acknowledge, outside India, no authority save the Crown and the Imperial Council, in which she would be adequately represented. She would have her own army and navy, for protection and Imperial needs, not to hold her people down. She would sweep away all coercive legislation; would not be afraid of her people possessing arms, nor be afraid of a free press and free speech; she would reform abuses instead of strangling the expression of the discontent caused by them; she would emulate British rule in Britain, not British rule in India.

India is in thrall; she is determined to be free.

CHAPTER I

RELIGION AND NATIONALITY

THOSE who have studied the history of the political movement of Shivāji know that a religious movement in Mahārāshtra preceded it, and led to the great wave of Hindū power which bid fair for a while to re-establish a mighty Hindū Empire on the wreck of the Mughal dominion. In truth, any movement to be strong in India must rest on a religious basis, and so interwoven with religion is the very fibre of the Indian heart, that it only throbs with full response when the religious note has been struck which calls out its sympathetic vibration. And it must be remembered that with Hindūism are bound up a literature which is the admiration of the world for its sublime spirituality, its intense devotion, and its depth of intellectual insight, a culture which has endured for unknown millennia, and a civilisation so magnificent that the world has not yet seen its equal. We shall see that it is the assertion of this

greatness which most angers the narrow-minded among the opponents of Indian nationality. They could forgive the imitation of the West ; they cannot tolerate the self-assertion of the East. And it is this self-assertion which has been brought about by the religious revival. The hostile eyes of Christian missionaries, fixed on the evils found in every society, have regarded India as "heathen" and therefore as contemptible, as a land, as Bishop Heber sang of Ceylon :

"Where only man is vile."

They point to the abolition of widow-self-immolation and the raising of the age of consent to twelve years as triumphs of Christian legislation, as though the drunkenness of Glasgow should be considered as a proof of the wickedness of their own faith, as though these reforms had not been pressed on the Government by Hindū reformers, and as though the further raising of the age of consent had not been lately urged by Hindūs in the Viceroy's Council, and rejected by the Supreme Government.

The revival in Hindūism was the salient characteristic of the nineteenth century in India, and it gave birth to the National Movement. Later in time came the Zoroastrian revival. The Musalman has not been so marked, for Islam had not weakened to the same extent. It is gradually entering the National Movement. The chief reviving agencies have been, in order of time : the Brāhmo Samāja and its branches ; the Arya Samāja ; the Theosophical Society ; the Rāmakrishna Mission.

THE BRAHMO SAMAJA

Of this Society—Samāja=Society—Rāja Rāma Mohan Rai was the founder, that extraordinary spirit of fire and steel, whose heroic courage faced alone the dread and then unbroken force of Hindū orthodoxy, and planted the seed of freedom, the seed destined to grow into a spreading tree, the "leaves of which" are "for the healing of the" nation. He was born in Bengal in 1774, "of an ancient and honorable Brāhmana family," and his father gave him a first-rate education ; "he learnt Persian at home, Arabic at Patna"—a boy of twelve—" (where he studied Euclid, Aristotle, and the Koran), and Sanskrit in Benares" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, *sub voce*). Attracted by Buddhism, he went to Tibet at the age of fifteen, spending some years in travel, but, revolting against the use of images in worship, and otherwise heretical,

he aroused so much hostility that he was obliged to fly from home. After his father's death (1803) he returned to Bengal, and was for some ten years in the service of the East India Company; but his outspokenness and his publication of a book against superstition and priestcraft made it necessary for him in 1814 again to seek safety, this time in the freer atmosphere of Calcutta, and leaving the service of the Company, he devoted himself to his life's work. In Calcutta, in 1814, he drew round him a few men of liberal ideas, who met weekly for study of the Hindū scriptures, and he published some of the Upanishads in Bengali, Hindū, and English, with comments, and the Vedānta sūtras in the first two languages. His one effort was, and he strove to bring his countrymen back to the purity of ancient Hindūism, and to this end he directed all his strength. Most of all he laboured for education, and brought about the founding of a Hindū College in 1819, linking together the religious and educational reforms destined to save India, and preparing the way for the introduction of English education, even helping Dr. Alexander Duff, the missionary, to open an English school in 1830. As he wrote against Christian orthodoxy as well as Hindū, he was bitterly attacked by the missionaries of Serampur, especially as he converted one of them from Trinitarianism to Theism, instead of being converted. To his religious and educational reform, his strong and logical mind added social and political—the first Indian to grasp the interdependence between the four lines of Indian progress; and the great agitation he created and led against *Sati*—the self-immolation of the widow with the husband's corpse—led to Lord William Bentinck's Regulation in 1829, abolishing it in the territories controlled by Fort William.

On August 20, 1828, the Brāhmo Sabhā was formed, the "Sabhā" being soon changed into the equivalent "Samāja," and on January 23, 1830, the first temple of the Brāhmo Samāja was opened. The trust deed secured it as a building wherein all were welcome to adore "the Eternal, Unsearchable, and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe,"—a quite Upanishadic description; no name was to be given, no image made, no living creature to be deprived of life as sacrifice; but nothing sacred to others was to be reviled or treated with contempt, and only such teaching was to be given as promoted virtue, and strengthened "the bonds of union between men of all religions and creeds." In those words was struck the note characteristic also of the Theosophical Society and the Rāmakrishna Mission. Splen-

didly before his time was this heroic man. A group of learned Brāhmanas gathered round him, and among his few early supporters was Rāja Dwarkanāth Ragore—a name to become famous in the annals of the Brāhmo Samāja.

In 1830 Rāma Mohan Rai went to England on a mission from the Emperor of Delhi, who created him a Rāja, and he reached England in 1831, and gave "much valuable evidence before the Board of Control on the condition of India" (*Ency. Brit.*). It is a pathetic fact that this great servant of India died far from the Motherland, in Bristol, in 1833, and a monument is erected there to him.

The movement he had founded lived on in India, and his friend's son, Debendranāth Tagore, joined it in 1842, and became its teacher and inspirer, leading it firmly along the lines of pure Hindūism. Keshab Chandra Sen joined the Samāja in 1857, and his eagerness and eloquence introduced many changes, and ultimately led to the branching of the Samāja in 1865; he became strongly tinctured with Christianity, so that the later Brāhmoism has been called "Christianity without Christ," and he came into close relation with the Theistic party in England and America, being influenced by the writings of Theodore Parker, James Martineau, and Frances Power Cobbe. The members who remained true to the Hindū ideal, under Debendranāth Tagore, were termed the Adi (original) Brāhmo Samāja, while in 1866 Keshab Chandra Sen formed a new Brāhmo Samāja, having already in 1864 established the Veda Samāja in Madras; the Prārthanā Samāja in Bombay, founded in 1867, was largely due to the inspiration of his visit in 1864 and his strengthening visit in 1868. Another split occurred in 1881, those remaining with Keshab Chandra being known as the Church of the New Dispensation, influenced to some extent, perhaps, in his central idea that all religions were true, by Shri Rāmakrishna Paramahansa, whom he visited much from 1875 onwards. An allied movement, the Prārthanā Samāja in Bombay, with its great members, Mr. Justice Ranade, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, and Sir Narayana Chandavarkar, has contributed enormously to the shaping of Indian nationality by its work of educational, political, and social reform, and it gradually and inevitably became more thoroughly Hindū in spirit, as nationality grew more and more self-conscious. The Adi Brāhmo Samāja has given to India the two famous brothers Rabindranath and Abanindranath Tagore, the National Poet and Painter; both added currents in the stream of nationality. The remaining Brāhmo Samājas are a good deal Christianised and therefore

Anglicised, playing a smaller part in the national life. Sir Valentine Chirol says of them (*Indian Unrest*, p. 27): "The Brāhmo Samāja is still a great influence for good, but it appears to be gradually losing vitality, and though its literary output is still considerable, its membership is shrinking. The Prārthanā Samāja is moribund."

Although Christians and Anglo-Indians thus patronise the Brāhmo Samāja we, who love India, must never forget that to the movement as a whole, India, the Nation, owes much, for it broke and ploughed up the ground of rigid orthodoxy, it faced the greatest difficulties, and, as pioneer, it opened a way for others, the easier to tread because of the devotion and self-sacrifice of the early workers.

THE ARYA SAMAJA¹

The second great movement was at once more conservative and more aggressive than the Brāhmo Samāja, and in much reminds the historical student of the Puritan movement in Great Britain. It has the strength, virility and devotion of its prototype, and much of its iconoclasticism and aggressiveness. Its influence on the life of Northern India has been and is great, and it has been a potent source of independence of mind and character, of a broad and liberal interpretation of Hindūism, of a bold assertion of the value of Hindū culture and self-sufficiency, and thereby has contributed greatly to the building of Indian nationality. Like Rāmamohan Rai, it has occupied the whole field of reform, religious, educational, social, political.

The founder of the Arya Samāja, Mulshankara, later Dayānanda Sarasvati, was a Brāhmana of pure descent, his father rigidly orthodox, his mother, says Lālā Lājpat Rai, "a typical Indian lady." He was born at Tankārā, in Morvi, a feudatory State in Kathiawar, in 1824.

Brought up in his father's orthodoxy, the first doubt as to the use of images in worship entered his mind at fourteen, while engaged in the worship of Mahādeva on the Shivarātri night—a fast held in honour of Mahādeva; and on submitting his doubt to his father and being subjected to a violent scolding instead of a rational explanation, the lad, as obstinate as his father, quietly held his tongue, and went on with his studies, ignoring parental authority. When, in 1845, his father tried

¹ This section is drawn from *The Arya Samāja*, by Lajpat Rai, its greatest living member.

to force him into marriage, he fled from home, and became definitely a Brahmachari—celibate student—and after wandering about for some three years he took Sannyasa from a regularly initiated Sannyasin of the Sarasvati Order, and was given the name Dayānanda, thus becoming Dayānanda Sarasvati.¹ He continued to work with the Brāhmo Samāja and its branches, and in Bombay, in April 1875, he founded the Arya Samāja. Two years later, in 1877, he founded another group in Lahore, and that became the centre of his work. He invited to India Mme. H. P. Blavatsky and Colonel H. S. Olcott, the founders of the Theosophical Society, and the two movements were for a time allied, but the heads of both were too independent for close partnership; in 1880 the Presidents of the two Societies met, and “we agreed that neither should be responsible for the views of the other; the two Societies to be allies, yet independent” (*Old Diary Leaves*, ii. 224). Mme. Blavatsky wrote of the great Hindū with intense admiration, and Colonel Olcott paid him, in the *Theosophist*, perhaps the finest tribute of all that were paid on his passing away on October 30, 1883, recognising in him the noblest of patriots, as well as the greatest of orators, in whom “there was a total absence of any degrading sycophancy and toadyism towards foreigners,” and praising his “energetic patriotism” and the “nationalising influence exerted upon his followers.” In truth it was Dayānanda Sarasvati who first proclaimed: “India for the Indians.”

The main tenets laid down by Dayānanda Sarasvati were: That caste and qualities must go together, and that a man who shows the characteristics of a caste has a right to belong to that caste. That all Hindūs have the duty of studying the Vedas, and every human being has the right to do so, thus placing Hindūism among the world-religions and opening its gate to all; also that the Vedas must be read by the old canons of interpretation and not in the light of later commentaries and beliefs. He further taught that there is a Primeval Eternal Religion; that there is one Spirit, Brahman, permeating the whole Universe; that the Vedas are His Word—Vedas including only the Samhita, the Mantras; that there are three Eternal Things, God, Soul, Matter; that activity is superior to resignation, and creates destiny. He worked out a full system of religion and philosophy on the Vaidic basis. The Ten Principles of the Arya Samāja include

¹ Sannyasa is complete renunciation of the world, entailing poverty and celibacy. The Sannyasin wanders about, teaching, living on charity. The mendicant preaching friar is the nearest Western analogue.

the above ideas on God and the Vedas, and the basic moral duties; they were formulated in Lahore in 1877 and are the conditions of admission to the Society.

In 1892 the Arya Samāja split into two, one section maintaining that Dayānanda's opinions were binding on the Society and that every member must therefore be a vegetarian; the other, that the members were only bound by the Ten Principles, and were free, on everything else, to follow their private judgment. But the division cannot be said to have weakened it, and its strong propaganda goes on as before. In education, carrying out the eighth of its Ten Principles, "to diffuse knowledge and dispel ignorance," it carries on an immense propaganda, which will be noticed in the chapter on education. Suffice it here to say that it sends out annually into public life a steady stream of sturdy Hindūs, enlightened and liberal, and devoted to the Motherland. Regarding the sexes as equal, it educates girls as well as boys, and has proved a potent factor in the national movement for raising Indian womanhood. Socially it has played a great part in the education of the depressed classes, with its principle of human brotherhood, and its recognition of the fact that hereditary castes did not exist in Vaidic times; it admits the "untouchables" into the Samāja on an equal footing with all others. It stands for monogamy, approves 25 as the suitable marriage age for men and 16 for girls, and prefers the avoidance of second marriages both for men and women.

Politically, the Arya Samāja is not, as a body, engaged in politics, but its influence directly fosters pride in the Motherland, patriotism, self-dependence, and independence. Fundamentally Hindū, it stands for Hindū civilisation and Hindū culture, enriching them from everything that is good in the West, but refusing to be dominated by foreign ideals. It builds up a manly and self-reliant character, and if the virile qualities which are regarded as admirable in every other civilised nation are held to be seditious and treasonable in the Indian, then, and then alone, are justifiable the attacks made on it by the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, and by enemies of educated India, such as Sir Valentine Chirol. He says: "The Arya Samāja, which is spreading all over the Punjab and in the United Provinces, represents in one of its aspects a revolt against Hindū orthodoxy, but in another it represents equally a revolt against Western ideals, for in the teachings of its founder, Dayānanda, it has found an aggressive gospel which bases the claims of Aryan, *i.e.* Hindū, supremacy on the Vedas, as the one ultimate source of human and Divine wisdom"

(*Indian Unrest*, p. 27). It is this resentment against Indians' daring claim to follow their own immemorial lines of thought, which makes the British yoke so heavy ; they claim to deprive a "subject nation" even of its own ideals, and make it treason to cling to them. Such an attempt to crush out national individuality has never been made before in India's long history. The Arya Samāja is thus one of the potent forces working for Indian Nationality, not anti-British but pro-Indian. A free and Self-Governing Nation within the Empire is the inevitable aim of all patriotic Indians, and the indirect, not direct, influence of the Arya Samāja works necessarily for the reaching of this goal.

Its religious work is definitely and aggressively anti-Christian, and, as Lālā Lājpat Rai points out, "It is not unnatural, then, that the Arya Samāja should meet with the most merciless criticism and the bitterest opposition from the Christian missionaries" (pp. 262, 263). Itself violent in its attacks, and aggressive in its defence of Hindūism, carrying its counter-attacks into the enemy's camp, it is not surprising that the Christian missionaries, who, before its advent, were accustomed to deference as white people, and to the gentle tolerance of the Hindū in religious matters, should be startled into angry antagonism against the new portent of a vehement and aggressive Hindūism. The missionaries, identifying the admission of their own superiority with loyalty to the British Crown, set themselves to denounce as disloyal the whole work of the Arya Samāja, and indocinated the authorities with their own suspicions. Hence much trouble and persecution for the Society during the troublous period from 1907 onwards. The splendid work of the Arya Samāja in late famines and floods has done much to dispel prejudice, and the Society, for the most part, is now left in peace.

THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

This third of the great movements in the revival of religion in India, was a Society founded in New York, on November 17, 1875, by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, a Russian lady of noble birth, and Henry Steele Olcott, a colonel in the American army, who had filled high and responsible office with great distinction in the American Military Department during the Civil War. In 1877, an American gentleman who had lately been in India called on the two founders, and recognised the portrait of a Hindū hanging on the wall as that of a

gentleman he had met in Bombay. Colonel Olcott, thus obtaining his address, wrote to this gentleman about the Society, and heard in answer of "a great Hindū Pandit and Reformer, who had begun a powerful movement for the resuscitation of pure Vedic religion." Correspondence followed, and in May 1878 the T. S. Council proposed to rename the Society "The Theosophical Society of the Arya Samāja." Further correspondence, however, showed that this would narrow the T. S. too much, as the Arya Samāja was Hindū and the T. S. international, so in September an intermediate group was formed under the above name, as a "link-Society." On Swami Dayānanda Sarasvati's invitation, the two colleagues left for India, and landed in Bombay on February 16, 1879.¹ Colonel Olcott's first lecture was given on March 23rd in the Framji Cowasji Hall, Bombay, on "The Theosophical Society and its Aims," and writing on it he says: "It was a stirring discourse on the majesty and sufficiency of Eastern Scriptures, and an appeal to the sentiment of patriotic loyalty to the memory of their forefathers to stand by their old religions, giving up nothing until after its worthlessness had been proved by impartial study" (p. 39). Coloney Olcott remarked, writing on this :

It should be noted that the view taken then was that the redemption of any nation must come through its own self-evolved leaders, not from without, and that if the downfall of India was to be arrested, the inspired agent must be sought within her boundaries, not in foreign lands, not among aliens. For ourselves, we utterly disclaimed all pretence of leadership or qualifications for the same. I believe, after twenty years' Indian experience, that this is the sound view, and the only tenable one. I also believe, as I then stated, that this necessary spiritual Teacher exists, and in the fullness of time will appear. For, truly, the signs of his coming multiply daily, and who shall say that our Society, Mrs. Besant, Vivekananda, Dharmapala, and others, are not the *avant couriers* of the blessed day when spiritual yearnings shall again fill the Eastern heart, and materialistic grovellings be things of the black past ?

The note struck in that discourse was the keynote of the Society's work in India. Colonel Olcott lectured to the Zoroastrians, and turned the younger generation from formalism or materialism to a recognition of the living spirituality

¹ *Old Diary Leaves*, by Colonel H. S. Olcott. The early days in India are taken from this.

latent in their religion. He lectured through the length and breadth of India, arousing Hindūs to a sense of their national degradation, urging them to separate the splendid Hindūism of the past from the excrescences that were draining away its life, and he founded many boys' societies for the study of the Hindū religion. He went to Ceylon, and worked for Buddhism, with such effect that to-day there are three colleges and 225 schools in which Buddhism is taught, managed there by Theosophical Societies. Everywhere pride of country arose in the track of his footsteps. The very fact of a Westerner, from progressive America, doing homage to the greatness of the East, touched the heart of India; but how hopeless the task seemed to be in 1879 may be judged by the comment of the India-loving *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta on his first lecture in Bombay:

What can the doctor do when the patient is already stiff and cold? India is dead to all sense of honour and glory. India is an inert mass which no power of late has been able to move. . . . India has no heart, and those of her children who have yet any portion of it left, have been deadened by blank despair. Talk of regenerating India to the Indians! You might as well talk to the sands of the sea.

The India of 1915, throbbing with vigorous life, shouts out her joyful denial of the prophecy of 1879.

The Society fixed its headquarters in Madras, Colonel Olcott buying the Adyar property at the beginning of June, 1882, and moving thither in December of the same year. The work went steadily on, the opposition of the missionaries to it steadily increasing, until it culminated in their infamous plot with the steward and the housekeeper at Adyar, in 1884, against Mme. Blavatsky, as it culminated against the Arya Samāja in the political prosecutions of 1907 onwards. In 1885, we may note a lecture to students by Colonel Olcott in Pachaiyappa's Hall, Madras, where, as ever, he urged the danger of their "irreligious education by Government and their anti-nationalistic education by missionaries, whose policy it was to destroy their reverence for their national religion." Ever the note is struck that religion must inspire nationality. "This," he writes (iii. 323), "has been the keynote of all our teaching in Asia from the very commencement, and the creation of the Central Hindū College at Benares by Mrs. Besant has been made possible thereby."

In 1893, Mrs. Annie Besant came to India, and the work thenceforth went on, with increased rapidity; she devoted

herself first entirely to the revival of religion, knowing that that was necessary to the sense of nationality in India, and refusing to give any opinion on subjects outside religion, until she had studied the condition of the country and was fitted to form sound opinions on the results of the changes proposed. Hindū at heart, she threw herself into the defence of Hindūism, and justified both from modern and ancient science many of the Hindū practices which had been discarded and assailed by the Arya Samāja, thus gradually leading large numbers of the more open-minded of the orthodox into the National movement. Sir Valentine Chirol complains (*Indian Unrest*, pp. 28, 29):

The advent of the Theosophists, heralded by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, gave a fresh impetus to the revival, and certainly no Hindū has done so much to organise and consolidate the movement as Mrs. Annie Besant, who, in her Central Hindū College at Benares, and her Theosophical Institution at Adyar, near Madras, has openly proclaimed her faith in the superiority of the whole Hindū system to the vaunted civilisation of the West. Is it surprising that Hindūs should turn their backs upon our civilisation, when a European of highly-trained intellectual power, and with an extraordinary gift of eloquence, comes and tells them that it is they who possess, and have from all times possessed, the key to supreme wisdom; that their gods, their philosophy, their morality, are on a higher plane of thought than the West has ever reached?

But before Mrs. Besant came, the vivifying process had gone far, and, as we shall see in the chapter on Nationality, a committee had been formed after the Annual Theosophical Convention of 1884 at Madras, composed of delegates and others, forming the organising Committee of the National Congress. The members of the Society joined the Congress, when formed, in large numbers, the national self-respect, aroused by their revived pride in Hindūism, leading to the National Ideal of Self-Government.

The Central Hindū College and other schools, and Colonel Olcott's Panchama (untouchables) Free Schools at Madras, come under Education; suffice it to say here, that the educational was, as with the Arya Samāja, a necessary step in the great work of nation-building carried on under the inspiration of the Theosophical Society. But also, as with the similar work of the Arya Samāja, the work was not corporate, though inevitably growing out of the Theosophical ideal of Brotherhood, "without distinction of race, creed, sex, caste or colour,"

applied to Indian conditions. Colonel Olcott wrote, speaking of various social reforms (iii. pp. 70, 71):

As a Society we abstain from meddling with them, though as individuals we are perfectly free to plunge into the thick of either of the fights that they occasion. . . . Mrs. Besant's Central Hindū College at Benares, my three Buddhist Colleges, and two hundred schools in Ceylon, and my Pariah Free Schools at Madras, are all individual, not Society activities.

The next step, equally inevitable on applying the ideal to life, was taken when the Benares School laid down the policy of excluding married boys, thus entering the field of Social Reform, and Mrs. Besant's most earnest followers, early in the twentieth century, signed a pledge to delay the marriage of their daughters and to work for the reception back into caste of England-returned students; after three years of strenuous work they succeeded in inducing the southern India "world-teacher" to receive back into caste an England-returned Brāhmana. Leagues were formed for Social Service, for the Education of Girls, for Foreign Travel, and other reforming measures. Finally, Mrs. Besant, in 1913, threw the whole of her influence in India, built up by her twenty years of religious, educational, and gradual social reform, into the National Movement, bringing with her the large party which had gradually grown up round her. Essentially religious in spirit, they bring with them devotion to Hindū ideals, readiness for sacrifice, a burning passion of patriotism, and of devotion to the Motherland.

THE RAMAKRISHNA MISSION

This mission owes its inspiration to the famous disciple of Shrī Rāmakrishna Paramahama, the Svami Vivekānanda, who was to his Guru what St. Paul was to Christ, the apostle of his Teacher's ideas and the organiser of them for effective action in the world. Like Rāma Mohan Rai and Dayānanda Sarasvati, the inspirer of this latest powerful vivifier of religion was a Brāhmana. Gadādhara Chatterji was born in 1834, in Kamapukur, a Bengali village, and was at first educated by his elder brother, a professor in Calcutta, but Svami Vivekānanda tells us that, desiring only spiritual knowledge, the boy became a temple priest—at Dakshineshvara close by—but, consumed with a passion of longing for the Divine vision, he left the temple and lived in a little wood near. Thither came

a woman ascetic, who taught him for some years and helped him in Yoga, and later a Sannyasin came from whom he took Sannyasa, and the name of Rāmakrishna. Then, he lived according to different religions, and realised their unity; he performed the lowliest offices—he, a Brāhmaṇa, cleaning the house of a Pariah—and thus for forty years he trained himself, till he gained first-hand knowledge of the inner truths, and was ready to teach. Says Svami Vivekānanda: “To proclaim and make clear the fundamental unity underlying all religions was the mission of my Master. . . . He left every religion undisturbed because he had realised that, in reality, they are all part and parcel of the one Eternal Religion” (*My Master*, complete works of Svami Vivekānanda, iv. 840).

Round the Saint gathered a group of earnest men, and to him came the simple and the learned, the believer and the sceptic. To him came Keshab Chandra Sen and P. C. Mozumdar; to him many a seeker after God, and of all the favourite disciple was one Narendranāth Datta, a graduate of Calcutta University, who went to him in 1882. When the Saint died in 1886, some of his disciples vowed to spread his teachings, and became Sannyasins, Narendranāth taking the name of Vivekānanda. He retired to the Himalayas for some six years, emerging in 1892, when he visited Madras. Sir S. Subramania Iyer, a devoted Theosophist, struck by the promise of usefulness in the then unknown young man, gave him welcome, and, with some friends, collected funds to send him to represent Hindūism in the Parliament of Religions in Chicago, in 1893.

His striking oratory, his presentation of the truths of Hindūism, took the great audiences by storm, and when the Parliament was over, he lectured on Hindūism in many places, founded several Vedanta Societies, and gained many disciples, some of whom followed him to England in 1895. He returned to America in the winter of that year, coming back to England in April 1896, and he then lectured and held classes in London, and won that admirable interpreter of Hindū thought and life, Margaret Noble, or Sister Niveditā, although she did not join him in India until January 1898. Their common love for India drew together Sister Niveditā and Mrs. Annie Besant, and the latter, at Svami Vivekānanda's request, presided at the Sister's first lecture at Almora, in the Himālayas.

Svami Vivekānanda travelled on the continent of Europe in the summer of 1896, returned to India at the end of the year, reached his Motherland early in 1897, and was welcomed with intense enthusiasm. His passionate eloquence, his

contempt for Western civilisation, his reproaches to all who imitated the West instead of living the East; who, having the privilege of Indian birth, reproduced the customs of another nation—all these things roused the strongest feeling of nationality. He lashed the weakness of the modern Indian while holding high the ideals of Hindūism; he raised Hindū civilisation higher than the Western, declaring that the one embodied spirituality, the other materialism. India was the spiritual teacher of the world. Sister Niveditā writes of "his love of his country and his resentment of her suffering. Throughout those years in which I saw him almost daily the thought of India was to him like the air he breathed" (*The Master as I saw Him*, by Sister Niveditā, 1910).

He paid another visit to Europe and America in 1898, his health having broken down, returning in 1900; too ill to lecture, he devoted all his remaining strength to organising his followers for self-sacrificing work, and died—only forty years old—in 1902. But he had nobly accomplished his work, and wherever his followers gather in their Sevāshramas—Homes of Service—they set a high example of beneficent activity, and are ever ready to nurse the sick, care for the suffering, uplift the miserable.

THE RELATION OF THE MOVEMENTS

It is instructive to note that these four religious movements are closely connected, and mark successive developments of the national self-consciousness.

The Brāhmo Samāja marked the awakening of the Indian nation from the state of coma produced by the East India Company; and in that first awakening it was natural that, confused and bewildered, finding herself helpless in the grip of a new and foreign civilisation, and with the masses of her people superstitious and ignorant, cut up into endless subdivisions and without sense of unity, she should be dazzled by the light of a strong and imperious rule, and accept dumbly the assertion that the West was the model to be copied. Hence the Brāhmo Samāja; but in its development under Keshab Chandra Sen it lost its value as a reforming and uplifting agency, and only in the Adi Brāhmo and the Prārthanā Samājas was preserved the precious seed of Indian Nationality.

It was this tendency of the Brāhmo Samāja towards Christianity and its general Westernising influence which made the arising of the Arya Samāja a necessity for the saving of

Eastern ideals. The country was in danger of their total supplanting by Western; the anglicising process had gone far enough in establishing English education, by which the ideals of English liberty were placed before each generation in its youth; the spread of the English language had ensured the passage of all valuable Western thought to India; it was time that the distinctively Hindū note should be struck, and that an aggressive hard-hitting movement should arise, to strike down Hindū superstition, and strike also for Hindū ideals. The Arya Samāja arose. The missionaries had naturally seen in the later Brāhmo Samāja a step towards the Christianising of India—the hopeless task on the accomplishment of which their hearts are set. To their horror they found a new movement had arisen among the most virile of Indian peoples in the North, the Arya Samāja. Their hatred of this hard-hitting foe, meeting violence with violence, Western in its vigorous fighting, if in nothing else, has therefore all the bitterness of disappointed hopes.

The Arya Samāja saved the essentials of Hindūism, but by throwing away much that was valuable, it frightened the orthodox majority, and by its propagandist character it alienated the Musalman population. It was too exclusive, too aggressive—all must accept its special form. And it was too arid. There seemed no room for the devotee—a constant and powerful element in Indian life. Thus while we recognise the Arya Samāja and its patriotic vigour as one of the strongest currents in the stream of Indian nationality, we see also the need of something more. The West must come as a servant, not as a master, must recognise the greatness of the East, must show respect and not arrogance, and thus prepare the way for India's high place in the world—not only in the East—in the future; must enter into her life, place their Western powers of organisation at her service in her struggle for liberty, and catch on their willing shoulders some of the blows aimed at her in the fight.

Hence the Theosophical Society was called to add its quota, and with its recognition of the unity of religions, its service to each in its own sphere, its arousing of the Zoroastrian, the Buddhist, and, to a small extent, of the Islamic, it brought other religions into the National movement and softened the acerbities of all. It justified those elements in Hindūism which the Arya Samāja, in its first necessary iconoclasm, had shut out, and so liberalised those of the orthodox not too fossilised to be affected through its influence. Orthodox Hindūism is becoming more liberal, and as the

Arya Samāja has moderated its aggressiveness towards it, the twain are drawing together to the advantage of both. In social life Theosophists have rendered and are rendering service by their attitude of perfect friendliness and ignoring of race distinctions. In education their service has been invaluable. In politics they have been strenuous helpers.

The work of the Rāmakrishna Mission has completed the religious impulse, by adding the sweet reasonableness and tolerance of pure and spiritual Hindūism as voiced by its Guru. The occasional expression not only of pride in India but of contempt of the West in Svami Vivekānanda added a probably necessary touch of the lash—almost the lash of hatred.

Thus has Religion inspired Nationality, and Sir Valentine Chirol, cruel and unjust as he is, had true and acute insight when he saw in the revival of Hindūism the genesis of Nationality.

CHAPTER II

THE ECONOMIC POSITION

In this as everywhere, this booklet is only a signpost. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's monumental work, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, is the book on which many subsequent treatises have been founded. The accuracy of his figures is undoubted, but they are, of course, old, and therefore need to be supplemented.

The main economic grievances may best be first stated baldly, and then a few details only can be given in our brief space.

1. The great drain on India of money raised as revenue from her people, and sent out of the country, to maintain the India Office, to pay pensions to English officials, to pay interest on English capital expended on railways largely controlled from London. This drain reduces India to perpetual poverty, recurring famines, and the huge indebtedness of her agricultural population, now amounting to 500 crores (5000 millions) of rupees (D. E. Wacha). To this may be added the cost of famine relief, rendered necessary

by the recurring famines, and the cost of foreign wars, undertaken for imperial purposes.

2. The crushing and inelastic taxation on the cultivators of the soil, the direct cause of famines, and of the indebtedness just mentioned.

3. The great cost of British government, with its highly paid British officials, its continual employment of European experts at high salaries, the multiplication of costly offices, the unknown amount of their occupants' savings transmitted to Great Britain, increasing "the drain," the encouragement thus given to the employment of Europeans instead of Indians in all important posts outside the Government, and the low salaries paid to Indian officials, so that their spending capacity is small.

4. The unfair treatment of indigenous industries, as the cotton, in which a countervailing tax is placed on cloth produced in the Indian cotton mills, to balance the customs duty levied on foreign imported piece-goods, and the excise levied on Indian salt to counterbalance the customs duty on foreign salt. The refusal to help infant industries to establish themselves, in place of the many industries which have decayed under British rule, and which were the sources of Indian wealth, economic principles based on Western conditions being applied without regard to their unsuitability here. The immense exports of raw materials, which should be chiefly worked up here, and the return of them as manufactured goods.

5. The comparative neglect of works useful to India, such as irrigation, education, and sanitation, on the ground of want of funds wasted in 1 and 3.

The books of Messrs. Dadabhai Naoroji, Romesh Dutt, Hyndman, and above all, Digby, should be carefully read. Among more recent books those of J. S. Sarkar, S. K. Sarma, M. de P. Webb, and P. Bannerji may be consulted. *The Indian Year-Book*, though written with a strong Government bias, is useful for statistics, and they and the Census of 1911 have been used for the latest figures.

1. THE DRAIN

The word "drain" is sometimes objected to, as connoting that the burden of the white man on India tends to exhaust her resources. That is exactly what it is intended to connote. The other word, borrowed from Lord Salisbury,

is "bleeding," and that is still more unpleasant. The noble lord, when Secretary of State for India, wrote in a *Minute* (26.4.1875; C. 3086-1 [1884, p. 144]): "The injury is exaggerated in the case of India, where so much of the revenue is exported without a direct equivalent. As India must be bled, the lancet should be directed to the parts where the blood is congested or at least sufficient, not to those which are already feeble for the want of it," already "bled white," like the calf, in fact." Since then we have had the famines of 1877, '96 and '99. Other writers corroborate Lord Salisbury's views. Mr. W. T. Thornton, in the *Westminster Review*, in 1880, remarked: "Railways are good, irrigation is good, but neither one nor the other good enough to compensate for opening and continually widening a drain *which has tapped India's very heart blood* (italics Mr. Thornton's), and has dried up the mainsprings of her industrial energy" (Digby, p. 205). The Rev. Mr. Sutherland, in the *New England Magazine*, Boston, Sept. 1900, writing on the causes of Indian famines, says they are not due to failure of rains, nor to over-population, but to "the extreme, the abject, the awful poverty of the Indian people," and that this is due to the enormous foreign tribute, the cost of "the most expensive Government in the world," the army, the foreign wars, which he puts at £100,000,000 sterling, of which England contributed to one war £5,000,000, and to another £500,000. (See *Famines in India*, Romesh Dutt, p. 294.) Once more the "bleeding" appears: "It is the stronger nation sucking the blood of the weaker" (Digby, pp. 162-170). Mr. Hyndman speaks of it as "an open artery, which is draining away the life-blood of our great dependency" (*Bankruptcy of India*, p. 132). "Even as we look on, India is becoming feebler and feebler. The very life-blood of the great multitude under our rule is slowly, yet ever faster, ebbing away" (p. 152). But of what avail to multiply quotations? As Mr. Hyndman says, the voters of Great Britain are responsible. But do they care? I believe they would care did they know, and that is why this book is written.

When the taxes paid by a country are expended in that country, they are comparatively easily borne; they pay large numbers of the raisers of food, of the producers of clothing, of manufactured articles of every kind, and by a country wealthy from its agriculture, its manufactures, its trade, its commerce, they may be even heavy without being ruinous; we shall deal with this in our next section. But

in the case of India all goes away from her—a real “drain.” Sir George Wingate (in *A Few Words on our Financial Relations with India*, quoted by Romesh Dutt, pp. 101, 102) points out:

Taxes spent in the country from which they are raised are totally different in their effect from taxes raised in one country and spent in another. . . . (they are) an absolute loss and extinction of the whole amount withdrawn from the taxed country. . . . Such is the nature of the tribute we have so long exacted from India. . . . From this explanation some conception may be formed of the cruel, crushing effect of the tribute upon India.

Mr. Romesh Dutt himself urges the same contention; having compared the elastic collections of the Musalman rulers with the rigid collections of the British, he says:

It is forgotten that the whole of the Mughal revenues derived from the land was spent in the country, fructifying agriculture and the industries, and flowing back to the people in one shape or another. Spent on the army, it maintained and fed the people; spent on the construction of great edifices, or in articles of luxury, it encouraged arts and industries; spent in the construction of roads and irrigation canals, it directly benefited agriculture. It is obvious that the people of a country can bear the incidence of heavy taxation better if the proceeds of the tax flow back to the people themselves, than if a large portion of it is sent out of the country, adding to the capital and helping the trade and industries of a distant land (pp. 100, 101).

Moreover taxes arouse less discontent, if they are levied by a home, than by a foreign Government. Resentment rises against those who tax when they are not of the same blood as the taxpayers, and it must be remembered that, even after the Minto-Morley reforms, the members of the enlarged Legislative Councils have no effective control over the Budget. There is a Budget debate, but no control. They are told what the Government is going to do; they are not consulted as to the incidence and allotment of taxes.

On this Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji quotes Sir William Hunter as saying:

I cannot believe that a people numbering one-sixth of the whole inhabitants of the globe, and whose aspirations have been nourished from their earliest youth on the strong food of English liberty, can be permanently denied a voice in the government of their country. I do not believe that races . . .

into whom we have instilled the maxim of "no taxation without representation" as a fundamental right of a people, can be permanently excluded from a share in the management of their finances (App. X).

But how long, O Lord, how long?

The system of Provincial Settlements makes things worse because less frankly autocratic. There is a Finance Committee, but it may not discuss anything which the Provincial Government is discussing with the Supreme. Any item can thus be withdrawn, and when the Supreme has decided, there is no more to be said.

Let us consider the amount of the drain. In 1898-99, the Secretary of State for India received from India £16,303,197 (Rs.244,547,955). He spent it in Interest on Debt, &c., Railways, Army, Pensions, Civil Charges, &c. Mr. Sutherland estimates that from twenty-five to thirty millions a year go to England in other ways, including the balance of trade against her. Sir George Campbell, at one time Lieut.-Governor of the United Provinces, puts the public remittances at £16,000,000 and the private remittances and the balance of trade at £16,900,000. Of course the drain varies from year to year; in 1870-74 the public remittances were £17,500,000. The fall in the rate of exchange, again, terribly increased the Indian tribute, which was measured in pounds sterling, making in one year an additional drain of Rs.117,000,000, according to Mr. C. B. Phipson (Digby, pp. 236, 237). Mr. Hyndman, writing in 1886, puts the drain at £20,000,000, half the net revenue of India from land (*Bankruptcy of India*, p. 131), and, while accepting this as the "admission of a Finance Minister," says it is really over £30,000,000 (p. 150). In a later analysis of the *Statistical Abstract*, he makes the drain £33,500,000, from a population of 224,000,000, "whose total gross produce is valued at no more than £400,000,000 by officials, and at £300,000,000 by able native statisticians" (pp. 184, 185). The drain is rising, not falling: the Secretary of State is now spending £18,000,000 annually, and in 1908 he drew 25½ millions, of which the "Home Charges" were 18½ millions (Sarkar, pp. 257, 258). This goes with the general increase of expenditure; that of 1898-9 was £55,312,981, while the estimates for 1911-12 show a total of £78,640,200. The chief items are: Civil Department, from £9,201,441 to £16,837,000; Railways, £9,123,838 to £12,113,800; Military, £17,153,718 to £20,811,900 (Sarma, p. 171). The older figures represent a better state of things than the present. India is nearer bankruptcy than she was

when Mr. Hyndman wrote. It is in this ever-increasing evil that lies the chief material need for Indian Self-Government, a National Government in which Indian prosperity will be the chief aim. In the long run, India, prosperous under her own Government, will be a more valuable Imperial asset than India bankrupt under the present foreign rule, which thinks first of Great Britain's temporary advantage, but ultimately will ruin both. Lord Salisbury said in 1877 that the only "true remedy against famine and scarcity is the frugality of the people." But it is a little difficult to be frugal when a man has a constant annual deficit, as we shall see when we come to taxation.

It is often alleged that the "drain" is "payment for services rendered," and is therefore legitimate. It is forgotten that the services, exorbitantly paid, are not invited but imposed, and that, if India had her way, the services would be rendered by her own people, and the payment would be returned into her own pocket.

2. CRUSHING TAXATION

We must now consider the process of "squeezing blood out of stones," but, alas, the stones are sentient. The mass of the working population in India are chronically underfed, as may be seen by the normally low vitality, so that a failure of one harvest causes millions of deaths, by the numerous cases of death from a blow or a kick, the well-known "ruptured spleen," by the small elasticity in recovery from slight illnesses, by the extraordinary sparseness of their bodies, and by the fact that the average life-period in India is 23.5 years, while in England it is 40, and in New Zealand it is 60. (Other causes contribute to this, such as child-parentage, and the frightful struggle for existence.)

Under Indian rulers, the land-tax was levied on produce, not on area, hence varied with good and bad harvests, and with the fertility of the soil; this method had also the advantage that it left to the cultivator sufficient food and seed-grain, and allowed land to lie fallow without tax for renovation, while now it is cultivated incessantly, and so gradually deteriorates. Mr. Gokaldas Parakh has pointed out that in some Bombay villages the incidence of taxation per acre is Rs.2.11.1., Rs.5.0.7, and Rs.5.1.6. Per head it amounts to Rs.2.7.8, Rs.3.12.6 and Rs.8.1.2. In the Report for 1897, out of nine cases, one showed 72 per cent., one 67 per cent. of the gross value of the produce. In another

district one of 42 per cent., six of over 30. The year before, out of nine cases, there was one of 96 per cent., one of 73, one of 63, and one of 50 (Romesh Dutt, p. 323).

Under the old Hindū rulers from one-twelfth to one-sixth of the gross produce was taken from the cultivator under the law, and this rule seems to have been normally carried out; Megasthenes speaks of the land bearing two crops in the year, giving the cultivators "abundant means of subsistence," and the husbandmen were regarded "as a class that is sacred and inviolable." Fa Hian says that "only those who till the royal lands return a portion of the profit." Hiuen Tsang says that these tillers of royal estates pay one-sixth as tribute. Akbar, as we have seen, claimed one-third of the gross produce, but Mr. Romesh Dutt thinks his collections averaged from one-tenth to one-sixth. The Marāthās claimed one-fourth. Under British rule assessments for the land vary; Sir Louis Mallet, speaking of Madras, puts the land revenue at 50 per cent. or one-half more of the net produce, and remarks that it is not only large, but uncertain (Appendix M. in *Famines in India* should be carefully read). Lord Salisbury says, commenting on Sir Louis Mallet's views, that "we cannot afford" "to limit all land payments to 50 per cent. on the gross produce"! In North India assessments have not been so heavy, but there landlords also had to be paid rent, the two taking about 30 per cent. of the gross produce (landlords 20, Government about 10, sometimes only 8). The variations of assessment offer many opportunities for sophistical argument. When the hardships of a Madrassi are complained of, we are told that a Panjabi is well off: that the taxation "on an average" is only so-and-so, Northern India being more lightly taxed than Southern. Mr. Shore, of the Bengal Civil Service, as long ago as 1837, said that "the grinding extortion of the British Government has effected the impoverishment of the country and people to an unparalleled extent" (Naoroji, p. 41), and official after official has endorsed this truth. Mr. Marriott in 1836 pointed out that the country was far more prosperous under "native rule" (p. 44), and comments on the before-mentioned drain as the "heavy tribute" which India pays to England.

Comparing relative income and taxation, we find that England paid $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of her annual income as taxation, India nearly 22 (Naoroji, p. 221); and it must be remembered that England pays out of wealth, India out of poverty; in England the taxes are spent in the country, in India half goes out. Sir E. Baring in 1882 put the income per

head in India at 27s., while in England it was £33; Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji also works it out at Rs.20, which at the present rate of exchange is almost 27s. Taxation ten times as heavy in actual money in England on an average of 660s.—the taxation of 1910—is as nothing, whereas 3s. 7½d. out of 27s. is crushing. The constantly repeated statement that India “is the most lightly taxed country in the world” is true in shillings but scandalously false in fact. In 1871, Lord Mayo, deducting various items of other taxation, put the land revenue at 1s. 10d. per head (Naoroji, p. 59). In 1910 it was 1s. 8d. per head, other taxes raising the total incidence to 3s. 7½d. per head. In the 175 municipalities, taxation in 1899 was at the rate of 2s. 8d. per head; in 1910 it was 5s. 5d. District and rural boards had taxation of 2½d. per head in 1899, of 3½d. per head in 1910. Taxation is rising, not falling. The total amount raised by pure State taxation in 1910, excluding land, was 35½ crores of rupees, and by local taxation a little over 7½ crores (Sarkar, pp. 317, 318). The land revenue was 26·2 in 1898, 30·1 in 1910 (*ibid.* 316), and 32 crores in 1913-14—a steadily rising impost, and it must be remembered that both Mr. Ranade and Mr. Gokhale have pointed out that the amount levied on the land not only leaves no savings to the cultivator but actually trenches on his subsistence. Hence despite his incessant labour his indebtedness is always increasing. The total net revenue was, in 1909-10, £74,600,000, and in 1913-14, £82,321,800. In 1902-3 it was only £65,300,000. England was *paying in taxes*, when Mr. Naoroji wrote, £2 10s. per head. India's *total production* was £2 per head (p. 61). If India is “lightly taxed,” why is it so impossible, as is often officially stated, to tax her further? There is no margin; she is taxed up to the hilt. Moreover, some of the taxes are peculiarly cruel, such as the tax on salt, an absolute necessity of life in a largely vegetarian population; yet Re.1 per maund of 82 lb. is the tax on it, and 467 lakhs of rupees were the estimated revenue from it in 1913-14. (The outcry against this tax has been so great that it has been lowered to Re.1 from the Rs.2½ per maund paid in 1888.) It is worse than a bread-tax in England.

The poverty of the cultivators—and “nine-tenths of the rural population of India live, directly or indirectly, by agriculture” (*Imp. Gazetteer*, iii. 2)—would be incredible, were not the facts visible on every side. The *Gazetteer* points out that “a considerable landless class is developing which involves economic danger, because the increase is most marked in districts where the rural population is most congested, or in

provinces in which there is special liability to periodic famine" (*ibid.*). Moreover, the peasantry in many cases can no longer live by their land, but, after the harvest, go into the towns to earn by wages enough to pay the land-tax. The census of 1911 gives 218.3 millions out of 304.2 millions as living by agriculture. It says of Bombay, "that there is a large local supply of labourers." Into Calcutta and its vicinity 1.4 millions migrate annually for industrial employment, the great majority seeking only temporary work for the cold weather; some stay longer, returning home with their savings, their families remaining in the villages.

Mr. Digby gives table after table of the actual "budgets" of labourers, and they are official. In the United Provinces peasants with $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres, one pair of oxen and a plough made a profit over expenses of Rs.45.14 (£3, 1s. 2d.) a year; average family five; per head Rs.9.2.10, nearly, for everything, food, clothing, bedding, religious ceremonies, &c. Another, with 17 acres, has a deficiency of Rs.15 annually on the land, and, says the investigator (Mr. Crooke, Collector of Etah, ruling a population of 756,528 persons), with bare food and clothing the annual deficiency came to Rs.138.9. Another, with 7 acres, spends Rs.50 on food (he pays Rs.40 as rent), Rs.7 on clothing, Rs.2 on household furniture, Rs.2 on marriage and funeral expenses, totalling a deficit of Rs.22 in the year. The official statement sometimes heard, that the people suffer because of thriftlessness and extravagance in ceremonies, may be seen, in the light of the grand total of Rs.2 in a year for both marriage and funeral ceremonies, to be scandalously false. The extravagance would not cover an English official's "pegs" at his club for a week. One man, Abe Ram, family of five, 9 acres; "he has no blanket; he ate the bajra before it was ripe"—an unwholesome proceeding; he had two buffaloes (a bull and a cow), and a cow, and sold milk for Rs.18; he earned by labour (outside) Rs.15 during the year; his crops sold for Rs.70.4. His rent was Rs.68.15—99 per cent. of the produce—leaving the royal sum of Re.1.5 for the year; he spent extravagantly Rs.44 for food and Rs.7 for clothing, and had a deficit of Rs.25.11. Mr. Alexander, Collector of Etawah, says that in *ordinary years* the cultivators live on advances from money-lenders for four months of the year. In a village near Cawnpur, with thirty-five families of cultivators, 171 persons, there was a balance of Rs.2590 over expenses of cultivation; for food alone Rs.3678 were necessary, so Rs.1088 was the deficiency; the sympathetic Sir Antony Macdonnell, Lieut.-Governor

of the United Provinces, put as one of the causes of "the ryots' difficulties" "his recklessness in expenditure on festivals"! This is the Lord Macdonnell who objects to an Executive Council for these Provinces on which an Indian should sit. Mr. Irwin, a Deputy Commissioner in Oudh, finds that 173 persons have ten blankets, sixteen resais (bed covers of padded cotton), and twenty-four quilts among them, and in Oudh the temperature in winter touches freezing-point. "The small cultivators, *i.e.* the large majority, must be always on the brink of want of food," would go over it but for the money-lender. Many say they live on the money-lender's grain for four months, eight months. One man, "evidently underfed," had his rent enhanced three years ago. Average income per head 13s. 4d. per annum. Of another group, 10s. 8d. Deficit on the year Rs.9, Rs.32, Rs.17, *for food alone*. In Bombay, in 30 to 40 per cent. of the holdings, the ryot cannot get enough to pay his assessment and feed his family for the whole year "even in good seasons"; after the harvest, he goes to a town and works as a labourer to earn enough to live. In 567 such villages, the Revision Settlement enhanced the assessment 28 per cent. In the Decan, in ten years, with crop and cattle losses, and 7 per cent. of the population on relief works, the rents were enhanced and regularly collected, with a remission of less than 4 per cent. The annual borrowings Mr. G. V. Joshi has shown, in these districts, are 93 per cent. of the total assessment; the assessment was £381,134, the borrowings £358,000. The ryots' debts in the whole Presidency amounted in 1794 to £15,000,000 old debt and about £1,666,667 new annually. The money-lenders practically pay the assessment, and the ryots pay interest on the rent they advance. The ryots' condition, therefore, grows worse every year, new borrowing, mounting indebtedness. "Half of the absentee landlords live in Britain" says a report from the United Provinces. Some of the volumes of these reports were laid on the table of the House of Commons at Mr. Charles Bradlaugh's request, and are presumably buried somewhere in the House. Mr. Digby's published cases are taken from these; pp. 306-508 contain the records of individual cases. Sir Charles Elliott, Settlement Officer, and afterwards a Lieutenant-Governor, says: "I do not hesitate to say that half our agricultural population never know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied." One hundred millions of men, women, and children always hungry! No wonder he adds that any attempt to increase taxation would result in financial failure

(Digby, p. 509). Missionaries bear evidence to the misery; here is one quotation from the Rev. C. H. Macfarlane, quoted by Digby (p. 564):

We cannot present harrowing tales of starvation and death as yet. But people are living on one meal on every two or three days; the poorer classes in India are always prepared for this. As one of our Christians said, "If we can eat food once in two days, we will not ask for more." In my own missionary experience I once carefully investigated the earnings of a congregation of three hundred, and found the average amounted to less than a farthing per head per day. . . . So it comes to pass that, living as they do, and that from hand to mouth, if they fail for a few days to work they have to face starvation, and when famine really comes it is ready to claim its millions as victims unless prompt and timely help is given.

The non-official estimated income in 1850 was 2*d.* per head per day: officially estimated income in 1882 was 1½*d.* per head per day! analytical examination of all sources of income in 1900 was less than ¾*d.* per head per day (Digby, frontispiece). India is on the down-grade.

O British Nation! you who claim to rule your "great dependency," to God and to Humanity must you answer for these myriads of hungry peasantry, whose ancestors before you came, by the testimony of all travellers, were full-fed and prosperous. Will you not remove your yoke, and give India a chance to save herself from death? Queen Victoria declared: "In their prosperity shall be our strength." What then of their adversity?

3. COST OF BRITISH GOVERNMENT

The "drain," of course, is part of this cost, but the burden of British administration in the country itself cannot be omitted. Mr. Digby remarks sardonically that the salary of the then Secretary of State for India during his term of office represented the average annual income of 90,000 Indians. That is a graphic way of putting it, and true. Outside the "drain," we have the cost in India itself. The Viceroy draws Rs.2,50,800 a year; the three Governors Rs.1,20,000 a year each, while Lieut.-Governors have Rs.1,00,000. The rest of the salaries are proportionate.

A Return, ordered by the House of Commons in 1892 (and made in 1900), gave the annual salaries being paid in India for

the services of 13,178 Europeans as Rs.877,14,431; Eurasians were paid Rs.72,95,026 for 3309 officials; 11,554 Indians received Rs.255,54,313. None employed on less than Rs.1000 a year are noted, so the smaller salaries of ordinary clerks do not come in. In addition, there are leave allowances to Europeans of Rs.46,36,314, Eurasians Rs.3,22,120, and Indians Rs.12,18,743. Pensions, paid in India, were Europeans and Eurasians (given together), Rs.23,28,882, and to Indians Rs.59,81,824. In England out of Indian taxation, Europeans were paid in pounds sterling £3,710,678, or Rs.556,60,173.

Another most unjust imposition on Indian revenues, and one of a peculiarly irritating kind, is that of the alien Church establishment. The Bishop of Calcutta draws Rs.45,980, and the Bishops of Madras and Bombay Rs.25,000 each. The Bishops of Lahore, Lucknow, Nagpur, and Rangoon draw Rs.10,200 a year for five years and then Rs.12,000 a year, the salaries of "Senior Chaplains." There are 134 Anglican and 11 Presbyterian Chaplains, receiving regular salaries, while Roman Catholics and Wesleyans receive "block grants," and the churches of all four "may be built, furnished and repaired, wholly or partly, at the Government expense." In addition their schools and colleges receive huge grants, and out of 5541 scholars in Protestant schools 5241 are non-Christians. Thus Indian money is spent in supporting a vast agency for insulting and outraging the religious feelings of the Hindū, Musalman, and Parsi "heathen," proving a source of civic strife. There is no conscience clause in Christian schools except for Europeans.

We have seen that the estimated revenue in 1913-14 was over £82,000,000 sterling, and the expenditure was estimated at a little over £81,000,000. It is impossible to say how much the expenditure might be reduced, if the Government was Indian, but in Indian States we find the people better off, without State debts, and yielding a revenue to the State of twice and thrice the amount yielded by India without distress (see Naoroji, i. p. 259).

Mr. Sarkar says :

India is a dependency of Great Britain. In consequence of her dependent political position, she has to employ a large number of high English officers ("the *corps d'élite* must be European," as Lord Curzon said), and a strong garrison of British troops, which numbered 80,581 in 1911. The pensions of all these and their savings while in service in India are sent to England. The English cannot breed and multiply in India. They have to send their children above four years of age to home for education; a large part of the father's income (sometimes

amounting to three-fourths) is remitted to England for maintaining the young ones there. In one year, 1910, above 13,800 European soldiers came to India from abroad and 12,000 were sent back to India or British Africa. Very often these numbers have been exceeded. India has to pay their transport expenses (p. 119).

Nor can we omit to notice the fact that in the higher educational, legal, and medical services the insistence on English degrees adds to Indian expenses. For the Indian Civil Service, Medical Service, educational both purely English and Indian with English degrees, for barristers, Indians must go to England, and spend Rs.3000 a year to qualify for higher status in their own land. All this goes to swell the "drain," though not reckoned therein. All requests to hold simultaneous examinations in India, so as to save this cost, are refused.

Moreover, Englishmen are appointed to responsible posts of all kinds in preference to Indians, because of the Government *cachet*, stamping the Indian as inferior. The competition for Government service as a means of livelihood has driven down salaries, so that the majority of middle-class Indians are miserably poor, while education increases in cost, and prices rise.

4. INDIGENOUS INDUSTRIES

The huge wealth of India, gained by commerce as well as by internal trade in the past, depended far less on her agriculture than on her industries. The valuable products of her looms drew in from other lands vast returns in gold, and she worked up her own raw materials. The influx of machine-made goods must inevitably have brought about widespread changes, but a system of government which had sought India's prosperity instead of Britain's enrichment would have made possible a transition instead of a destruction.

For there are advantages in hand-loom that should not be overlooked ; with short-stapled cotton, Dacca weavers produced "the same results as from the finest long-stapled cottons of America," and so fine was the yarn that 250 miles of it went to a pound of cotton (*Imp. Gazetteer*, iii. 201). An Indian, instead of a foreign, Government would have grouped these cottage-industries together, would have introduced co-operative societies—begun only when the industry was decaying—and thus have facilitated the transition, and have preserved what was valuable in the hand-industry. Indian

weaving suits the climate better than foreign-made goods; the foreign silk cracks where folded; the foreign gold and silver thread tarnishes. India used to make her own, but in 1913-14 customs duty was paid on £302,773 sterling worth of gold thread imported. Foreign silks do not bear constant washing as do the Indian, nor do they last.

None the less, India brought into competition with Western nations would probably, in any case, have had to establish machine industries. But when she began to take them up, and might have worked up her own cotton instead of exporting raw cotton and importing foreign cloths, the English Government, to protect Lancashire mills, imposed an excise duty on Indian products to balance the customs duty on foreign goods, thus making an "equal" duel between the well-established British giant industries and the Indian infant ones. Of course, the Indian were unable to compete successfully, and meanwhile the hand-products, though of better quality, were beaten out of the market by the cheap foreign goods, and the industries decayed. Half the total production of raw cotton is exported, and another quarter goes out as yarn, leaving only one quarter to be worked up here at home; in 1903-4, 2,032,000,000 yards of foreign cotton cloth came into India, while she produced only 436,000,000 yards (*Imp. Gazetteer*, iii. 205). There are but nine paper-mills in India; glass, for which the constituents abound, is not made, but in 1913-14 she paid customs duty on £699,246 sterling worth of glass beads and bangles for the wearing of her women; the beautiful vegetable dyes have been killed out by their coarse aniline rivals; oil-seeds are exported where they should be crushed and their oil utilised, no less than 1608·25 lakhs of rupees worth being exported in 1903-4. For soap she paid customs duty on £500,400 sterling worth in 1913-14, where her own palm-oil might have been used. Cement, for which she has the materials, was imported to the value of £438,991 sterling, and candles £49,300. Another industry for which her artisans are well fitted is the making of toys, of which £177,986 worth were imported. Yet the artistic toy-carving of Lucknow is dying, owing to foreign competition. In these few trades, with the gold thread before mentioned, small manufacturers might have made £2,168,696 worth of goods, as valued for customs, realising from 30 to 50 per cent. more in the market. Were India self-governed these natural products would be manufactured and become a source of wealth, as in former days; now they are swept away by foreign merchants to be coined into wealth abroad, and she would

herself make many of the articles imported by them. An Indian Government would place heavy duties on incoming products until the infant industries could hold their own; would advance loans, if necessary, for their establishment. But it is probable that Indian capital would no longer be "shy," if its employment were protected against the competition of well-established foreign firms, so that India, coming into contact with Western methods, should not be "hustled" to death before she has time to secure a footing in the new ways. Even in the injury wrought by the war, the English Government has not helped to repair it, though, in one product, ground-nuts, the crop has been left to rot on the ground, where a little help in adapting crushing-mills might have started an industry that would have remained, and have created in India a manufacture which Germany had exploited for her own gain. Without a Government of her own, India is ruthlessly exploited for the enrichment of Europe.

The Swadeshi (own-country) movement, advocating the use of home-produced instead of foreign-produced articles, has done something to check the destruction of indigenous industries. When the Partition of Bengal caused the popular leaders, in 1905, to take it up as a means of arousing Great Britain, by menacing its trade, to a sense of the wrong inflicted, it practically saved the Bengal hand-loom weavers from their steady decline, and replaced them in a secure position. A simple and cheap mechanical device, applied to the ordinary loom, has multiplied tenfold the power of production. As Mr. Sarkar points out (p. 298) the ethical value of Swadeshi is also great, as enabling each person to make a sacrifice for the welfare of the Motherland, and as promoting the spirit of Nationality.

In considering all these questions it is necessary to remember that Indian conditions differ from those in the West. By long tradition, manual workers are trained on special lines, and cannot find work in a new trade if the old one fails them. Hence the law of supply and demand does not work as quickly here as in Western nations, and protection of infant industries is even more necessary than it was acknowledged to be by John Stuart Mill in new Western countries. The heavy trade balance against India, the excess of exports over imports of some 24 crores of rupees annually, goes to pay her debts to Great Britain, to liquidate the annual drain, and much of this is in the form of the raw material, which thus leaves her for no equivalent, but which, kept here,

would increase her manufacturing wealth. Germany, Japan, the United States, have built up great industries with Government help, and India would do the same, had she, like them, a Home Government, whose one aim was the prosperity of its people. Great Britain, naturally, looks first to British interests, and political parties in Great Britain calculate the effect of their Indian trade policy on the votes which determine the fate of Governments at Westminster.

5. PUBLIC WORKS

One of the most frequent complaints of Indian reformers turns on the comparative claims of railways, irrigation, education, sanitation, on the public funds. Government guarantees a minimum interest on capital invested in railways, capital which comes chiefly from abroad; a reserve is set aside to meet this interest, and is thus withdrawn from public use, instead of fertilising works sorely needed by the country. The total capital liability, on the railways classed as State railways, is given in the *Year Book* of 1914 at £334,500,085 sterling (p. 172). The total capital outlay on irrigation works up to the end of 1900-1 is given in the same book (p. 185) as 39,83.76 lakhs of rupees. But it will be easier to compare the relative expenditure if we take the annual charges, when we find in pounds sterling that railways in 1914-15 were put at 11.6 millions (capital) reduced from 12 millions because of the war; this excludes ordinary expenditure and interest on debt. Irrigation was assigned 1.2 million, increased slightly; education 3.22 millions, and medical relief and sanitation 1.5 million. (These figures are from the Budget statement.) In 1913-14 the non-recurring grants for urban sanitation amounted to 150 lakhs—£1,000,000—distributed to the Local Government, and 13½ lakhs was assigned for special schemes. Recurring grants amount to 45 lakhs annually—£300,000 (p. 510). Other grants are being made for research and other schemes totalling £319,400 recurring, and £2,366,666⅔ non-recurring, and in some districts land cess is being assigned to this purpose. All money thus spent, though going too largely to European officers, is expended for the welfare of the country. In considering the relative returns to the State from railways and irrigation we find :

	1913-14	1914-15	1915-16
Railways	1.36 per cent.	0.53 per cent.	0.32 per cent.
Irrigation	5.87 ,,	5.44 ,,	5.30 ,,

If we ask why the more profitable expenditure is not preferred, the only answer is that the railways profit English shareholders while irrigation profits the people of the country.

Another reason why the expenditure on railways is less pleasing, may be said to be sentimental. The railway arrangements are made for the comfort of Europeans, and Indians of all ranks are discriminated against. This is most, but not exclusively, true as regards the huge bulk of the travelling population, from whose payments dividends increase; these are extremely badly provided for, treated with brutal harshness, subjected to innumerable inconveniences and indignities, and shut out of decent arrangements at stations; the gentry, nobility, and princes are also excluded from station sleeping apartments—a night having sometimes to be spent in waiting—provided exclusively for a few Europeans only.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION

I BELIEVE, Sir, that it is the right and the duty of the State to provide means of education for the common people. This proposition seems to me to be implied in every definition that has ever yet been given of the functions of a Government. About the extent of those functions there has been much difference of opinion among ingenious men. . . . The very narrowest sphere that ever was assigned to Governments by any school of political philosophy is quite wide enough for my purpose. On one point all the disputants are agreed. They unanimously acknowledge that it is the duty of every Government to take order for giving security to the persons and property of the members of the community.

This being admitted, can it be denied that the education of the common people is a most effectual means of securing our persons and our property? Let Adam Smith answer that question for me. . . . The education of the poor, he says, is a matter which deeply concerns the commonwealth. Just as the magistrate ought to interfere for the purpose of preventing the leprosy from spreading among the people, he ought to interfere for the purpose of stopping the progress of the moral distempers which are inseparable from ignorance. . . .

I say, therefore, that the education of the people is not only a means, but the best means, of attaining that which all allow to be a chief end of Government; and, if this be so, it passes my facul-

ties to understand how any man can gravely contend that Government has nothing to do with the education of the people (*Speeches of Lord Macaulay*, pp. 223, 225).

These were the words in which Mr. Macaulay, M.P., pleaded in the House of Commons in 1847 for the first grant of £100,000 for the education of the people of England under the scheme of National Education proposed by the Committee of the Council on Education. The argument is as cogent for India in 1915 as it was for England in 1847.

This same Mr. Macaulay, in the same place, in 1833, had pleaded that India might be so governed as to enable her to rise to the English level of freedom and civilisation, and had asked: "Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive?" (p. 78). Coming to India, he carried out the principle he had pleaded for in Parliament, and in 1835 he, as the Legal Member of Council, and Member of the Council of Education, penned the celebrated Minute which, while showing a ludicrous ignorance of the value of Oriental literature, turned the scale in favour of English, as opposed to Oriental education, and was followed quickly by a Government Resolution, affirming the principle of establishing English education. Lord William Bentinck's Government declared that "His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone."

There had long been in India a system of free education, carried on by learned men, both Hindū and Musalman, who were supported by the rulers and by gifts from the general body of householders. To centres of learning scholars flocked from all parts of the country, and were sheltered, fed, clothed, and taught. Still, the tradition survives of education thus freely imparted, and the Indian boy asks for education as his right, insisting on it when refused. In addition to those innumerable centres of higher learning :

Village schools were scattered over the country-side, in which a rudimentary education was given to the children of the trading classes, the petty landholders, and the well-to-do cultivators. . . . Seated under a tree or in the veranda of a hut, the children learned to trace the letters of the alphabet with their fingers in the sand, or recite in monotonous tones their spelling or a multiplication

table which extends far beyond the twelve-times twelve of the English school-room.

Simple mensuration and accounts and the writing of a letter are the highest accomplishments at which this primitive course of instruction aims (*Imp. Gazetteer*, iv. 407, 408).

In the *Rāmāyana* it is stated that in the reign of Rāmachandra's father every person could read and write. Whether this be accurate or not, the idea of widespread elementary education is clearly familiar to the writer, and such education was imparted in the schools above mentioned. Adult education was carried on by the recitations of wandering Sannyāsins, round whom groups gathered at eventide under the village tree. Both these institutions survive down to the present day, but both are decaying away.

The first educational institutions under British rule were the Madrasa for Muhammadans, founded by Warren Hastings in Calcutta in 1782, and a college for Hindūs in Benares, established by Jonathan Duncan in 1791. By the Charter Act of the E. I. Company in 1813, the Company were compelled to spend one lakh of rupees a year in encouraging indigenous learning and Western science (this was entirely ignored), and in 1815 Lord Hastings expressed his wish to see a system of education introduced. A struggle was then going on between the advocates of Eastern and Western learning. Rama Mohan Rai, with his keen foresight, was at this time a powerful influence on the side of teaching English, and inspired the opening of a Hindū college in Calcutta in 1817 to instruct "the sons of Hindūs in the European and Asiatic languages and sciences." The Christian missionaries were divided in their educational work. Dr. Carey and others promoted vernacular education, and founded the Serampore College, then in the Danish possessions, in 1818, openly for converting Indians to their faith, and in 1820 a college was founded in Calcutta, to train Christian youths "to preach among the heathen." But in 1830 Dr. Duff, again aided by Rama Mohan Rai, opened a school to give "literary, scientific, and religious education through the medium of English," and thus gave a powerful impetus to its study, his belief being that Christianity would best spread through the knowledge of the English tongue. While it is true that English education owes much to Christian missionaries, it is also true that their main object has always been conversion rather than education, education as a means to conversion. The Indians, however, ignored the Christianity and took advantage of the education, which qualified them for the minor posts open to them as clerks in Government offices.

We must not omit to notice Mountstuart Elphinstone's *Minute on Education*, March 1824, in which he urged the spreading of the knowledge of Western science, but he wisely added the proviso that Indian literature should not be neglected :

It would surely be a preposterous way of adding to the intellectual treasures of a nation to begin by the destruction of its indigenous literature: and I cannot but think that the future attainments of the natives will be increased in extent as well as in variety by being, as it were, engrafted on their own previous knowledge and imbued with their own original and peculiar character.

This generous wish to help the Indian nation is very characteristic of the Englishmen who came to India at this time, men who looked forward to India's liberty—statesmen, not bureaucrats—and who saw in English education the training for the enjoyment of English liberty.

Outside these, the impetus towards English education was, on the Indian side, due to Rama Mohan Rai and the group of men round him, the desire for it spreading in ever-widening circles; and, on the side of the Government :

The very forcible reason that without some kind of organised training of Indians in English composition and ideas, the practical work of administration, which demands an ever-increasing number of clerical assistants to meet the needs of steadily accumulating office work, could never have been carried on (*Indian Year-Book*, 1914, p. 212).

This imperative necessity for supplying large numbers of clerks and subordinate officials, if the British Government were to be carried on, imposed the direction taken by education, and it aimed at this supply, not at the training of classes able to assist in the material development of the country. The inherent defect of a foreign Government has come out strongly in education, the Government supplying its own needs, not the needs of the country, and thus leaving the great wealth-making enterprises to be initiated and managed by foreigners, instead of by Indians. Technical, industrial, commercial education have all been neglected in favour of literary, and the scientific training was so poor that, until lately, a man might become a B.Sc. without having touched a test-tube !

Literary education, however, designed to supply competent clerks and subordinate administrators, was seized upon by the great Brāhmana caste and turned to higher ends ; they quickly

began to assimilate the spirit of English literature and to breathe with delight the air of liberty which permeates its noblest master-pieces; they studied with keenest interest the development of English institutions, and saw how Freedom

broadened down
From precedent to precedent.

The fascination exercised over these subtle and powerful brains by the legal profession was largely due to the fact that the history of law in England is a history of widening Freedom, and for constitutional reform the weapons are mainly legal. Indian judges have been the ablest advocates of Indian liberty, and the strength of the movement for Self-Government lies in the legal profession.

English education in India has thus been an education for the learned professions; Government has only since 1854 nibbled at elementary education for the masses, and has left them extraordinarily illiterate. It is elementary education for the masses which all Indian Reformers demand—universal, compulsory, and free.

There are three streams of English education in India: the Government, the Missionary, and the National. These affect only a "microscopic minority" of the population. The same three agencies carry vernacular education to the lamentably small proportion of the population of school-going age which resorts to the primary schools. It is the extension of Government education to the remainder of the vast neglected majority, and the extension of the school period to at least six years, which are the crying needs of the day.

Before tracing the evolution of education further, we will just glance at its present position, so that the vastness of the problem to be solved may be realised.

The total population of India is 315,132,537, the Indian Feudatory States comprising 70,000,000 of these. The *Indian Year-Book* for 1914 takes the population of British India at 255,368,553. But for educational purposes it is more usual to take the whole population of India, 315,132,537, and subtract 3,000,000 for those whom the census-takers could not classify as to illiteracy or literacy, leaving a population of 312.64 millions as a basis. The *Indian Year-Book* gives the actual number of boys and girls in public and private institutions—primary, and high schools and colleges—at 6,780,721 (p. 213). The percentage of children of school-going age in the population must of course depend upon the period termed "school-

going." From six years of age to fourteen is the school-going period in Germany and Austria; from five to thirteen in France. In England it is from five to fourteen, and from twelve to fourteen exemption may be had for cause shown. England and Wales have a population of 36,070,492, and have 6,000,000 of registered scholars. Here the Government estimate is from six to twelve, yielding a school-going population of nearly 47,000,000 reached at 15 per cent. of the whole population. Out of this, 4,202,631 boys and 785,511 girls were in primary schools. The percentage of boys actually in school is reckoned at 26·8 of this school-going population; of girls it is 4·7. The percentage of boys and girls in school out of the whole population is only 2·6 (p. 226). In America 18,000,000 out of 91,000,000 are in the elementary schools, one-fifth of the whole population, or 20 per cent. 390,881 boys were in high schools and 29,369 in colleges, while only 16,884 girls were in high schools and 279 in colleges. Five years in a primary school, points out Mr. M. S. Kamath (*The Census of India*, p. 99), are necessary "before a person becomes literate; the average duration is now less than four years, and the number of pupils remaining at school for the required period is only 148 out of every 1000 under instruction." The outcome of this is that among adults 106 men and 10 women in 1000 are "literate," i.e. can read and write (p. 103). This is the outcome in numbers of the educational benefits bestowed by British rule in India. But the education of the "microscopical minority," the graduate population, that is a benefit beyond all price, for it is the seed of Indian Self-Government.

At first, Government education was confined to those who sought it on English lines, and in 1854, after nearly twenty years, there were only 12,000 students in their schools. Sir Charles Wood, in this year, issued his famous Despatch, and Government Orders based on it established "Departments of Public Instruction intended to combat the ignorance of the people, which may be considered the greatest curse of the country." It also proposed the establishment of three universities, and those of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were incorporated by their respective Acts in 1857. "Grants-in-Aid" were initiated, and enabled many schools to be opened under private management. The Commission of 1882-3 (Sir W. Hunter, president), issued by Lord Ripon, that true friend of India, declared that primary education was the part of the educational system which had "an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education," and strove to encourage private enterprise.

But the Public Service Commission of 1886-7 made an unfortunate change in educational administration. It divided the Educational Department into : (a) an Imperial (or Indian) Educational Service, composed of graduates of universities in the United Kingdom *only*, with a maximum of Rs.1600 p.m. ; (b) a Provincial Educational Service composed of Indians, the maximum pay Rs.700 p.m. ; (c) a Subordinate Provincial Service, with maximum Rs.400 p.m. This division has caused great discontent, as no Indian, however able, can pass into the higher service unless he has a British degree, and thus he can never rise beyond Rs.700 a month, a salary which stamps his inferior position.

The expansion of education after 1882 was so great, that by 1901 Lord Curzon, then Viceroy of India, determined to check it, and for this purpose he called a Conference at Simla to consider Indian education, to which he invited Europeans only, and the deliberations of which were kept secret. The next step was that in 1902 another Commission—the Indian Universities' Commission—was constituted in a way that created much discontent and began its ill-omened work : little time was given to it ; it did not publish the evidence recorded by it, and one of the two Indian members dissented from its findings. It was universally viewed by the educated Indians as an English plot against higher education, and it had as its outcome the University Act of 1904, which reduces the Indian universities to a mere Government department, and which was gallantly, but fruitlessly, opposed by Mr. Gokhale at each stage, despite Lord Curzon's anger and harsh rebukes. Mr. Gokhale complained that "it is not fair to the people of this country that the higher education of their children should be under the exclusive control of men who want to leave this country as soon as they can, and whose interest in it is, therefore, only temporary." He declared that the measure was reactionary, and "it is because we feel that this Bill is of a most retrograde character, and likely to prove injurious to the cause of higher education in the country, that we are unable to approve its provisions, and it is because I hold this view that I deem it my duty to resist this Bill to the utmost of my power." His prognostications have proved true ; the Indians are constantly opposed on all vital matters ; the Senates were cut down, and four-fifths of their members were mere appointees of Government, thus depriving them of all independence, and lest any trace of it should appear, Government reserved the power to revise their list every five years. If a Fellow were independent, off with his head. Its results were

(lamentable : fees were raised so as to make education costly ; private effort was discouraged ; Government control increased ; and higher education became a Government machine, in which examinations became more and more exacting, until this year in Madras, the university has rejected 90 per cent. of the candidates going up from its recognised schools for admission, and 72½ per cent. of the candidates from its own colleges for the intermediate examination. And this despite the supposed greater efficiency in education, and the ruin of many schools "not up to the mark." Lord Curzon's fatal policy in education, like his folly in Bengal, is driving India into angry hatred of the local Governments. Sir Valentine Chirol, who, of course, praises Lord Curzon, says that the increased stringency of the entrance examinations "had resulted in a healthy decrease in the number of matriculations, while the standard had been materially raised (p. 232). Only where a foreign Government rules, which is opposed to the raising of the nation out of ignorance, could there be rejoicing over the "healthy decrease" of matriculations. He proposes further raising of fees, in order to further still more the "healthy decrease."

Most primary schools are managed by local bodies, not directly by Government, and it is probable that no scheme of universal, free, and compulsory private education will be successfully launched until village councils (panchayats) are everywhere re-established, and the village schools placed under their control. Every school should have a manual training annexe, where the village crafts should be taught by the craftsmen. The spreading of co-operative societies in villages is also helpful in this direction, and a few are beginning to make a small charge on their profits for education.

It is particularly with regard to education, as to industry, that Indian politicians feel the need for Self-Government. They see that in Japan, within 40 years, the mass of the people are being educated, and they compare their educational progress under their own Government with the educational results here under the British Government—2·6 of the population after 80 years. Japan has 5,000,000 pupils in her 27,138 primary schools, exclusive of all others. And her population is only 50,000,000 ; she has in her primary schools 10 per cent of her population.

As long ago as 1896, Mr. Gokhale compared education as provided by the British Government in Great Britain and as provided by the British Government in India. In Britain education is compulsory ; every child must go. Here in 1894,

only 12 per cent of the school-going age were in school. In Britain, it is free, though our last chapter showed the average income of the Britisher. Here a small percentage of freeships is allowed in public schools, despite the poverty of the people. There, there is one school for every 4 square miles; here, for every 13. In 1895 out of less than 40,000,000, 32,000 persons were receiving university education; here 16,000 out of 230,000,000; only 16,000—and in 1910 Sir Valentine Chirol rejoices over a “healthy decrease” when it had risen (1909–10) to 22,920. Mr. Gokhale refers to the Despatch of 1854, “which the Education Commission rightly described as the great Charter of Indian Education,” for it said: “In 1854 the education of the whole people of India was definitely accepted as a State duty,” and this was confirmed in 1859. The liberal policy suggested by Lord Ripon’s Education Commission of 1882 was approved by his Government, which promised to consider any request for financial help from the Local Governments, but Lord Dufferin in 1886 followed a contrary policy, and asked Local Governments to decrease, rather than increase their demands.

“If in England and the Colonies from ten to twenty per cent. of the revenue raised by taxation returns to the people in the shape of education, why should we alone be asked,” queries Mr. Gokhale, “to be satisfied with a pittance of less than two per cent.?” “Education,” he says solemnly, “is the sheet-anchor of the people’s loyalty, it is the sheet-anchor of the people’s progress; and the expenditure incurred to educate the people will be found to be a source of strength, when the subsidies to the wild tribes and the demarcations of scientific frontiers are found to fail.” (*Address to the Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Bombay Graduates’ Association, 1896.*)

Mr. Gokhale, as a member of the Supreme Council, did his utmost to bring about compulsory education, and in 1910 he brought forward a resolution on the subject, and on receiving the promise from the Government that they would consider the matter, he withdrew it. In 1911, he brought forward a Bill to “make better provision for the extension of elementary education,” a Bill of a most cautious and moderate character, providing for the gradual introduction of compulsion, the abolition of school fees in the case of persons unable to pay, and the very short period of four years—from six to ten—for education. He urged that:

Even if the advantages of an elementary education be put no higher than a capacity to read and write, its universal diffusion

is a matter of prime importance, for literacy is better than illiteracy any day, and the banishment of a whole people's illiteracy is no mean achievement. But elementary education for the mass of the people means something more than a mere capacity to read and write. (It means for them a keener enjoyment of life and a more refined standard of living. It means the greater moral and economic efficiency of the individual. It means a higher level of intelligence for the whole community generally.) He who reckons these advantages lightly may as well doubt the value of light or fresh air in the economy of human health. I think it is not unfair to say that one important test of the solicitude of a Government for the true well-being of its people is the extent to which, and the manner in which, it seeks to discharge its duty in the matter of mass education. And judged by this test, the Government of this country must wake up to its responsibilities much more than it has hitherto done, before it can take its proper place among the civilised Governments of the world.

Taking the figures of the Census of 1901, he showed that only six per cent. of the whole Indian population could read and write, while even Russia, the most backward European country, had twenty-five per cent. The percentage of the population in elementary schools was 1·9 (in 1913 2·6), while in Great Britain, Canada and Australia it was from twenty to seventeen. The Philippines came under American rule thirteen years before he was speaking, and the U.S.A. introduced there a system of education, and had six per cent. of the population at school in thirteen years while Britain after eighty years had two per cent. In Baroda, under Indian rule, primary instruction was made free and compulsory for boys between six and twelve, and girls between six and ten. In 1909 a percentage of 8·6 of the whole population was achieved, and of children of school-going age there were 79·6 per cent. of boys at school against the 21·5 per cent. in British India, and 47·6 per cent. of girls against our percentage of 4. The Gaekwar was spending in 1909 6½d. per head for education against 1d. per head in British India. Is it wonderful, we may ask, under such conditions, that educated Indians would prefer to govern themselves?

The Council allowed the Bill to be introduced, and it was sent to the Local Governments, and circulated by them among Boards, &c., the bodies dominated by official opinion. On March 18, 1912, Mr. Gokhale moved that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, but the noble effort of the great patriot to educate his people was foredoomed to failure, and the Bill was rejected by 38 votes to 13.

But though the officials will have none of it, educated India stands by it, and in the Madras Parliament—a local body for the discussion of political and social questions—Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar last April brought forward a Bill somewhat larger in its provisions. He pointed out that England had solved the problem for herself in twelve years, from 1870 to 1880, and had then gone on, up to 1907, by successive measures, to provide for the bodies and minds of all her children. Japan, in twenty years, had raised the percentage of pupils from 28 of the school-age population to 92. This Bill, with its mover's speech, is being circulated, and more and more educated Indians are feeling that that which England, Japan, and Baroda have been doing, they could do for themselves if they were Self-Governing. That a foreign Government will not do it for them they realise, for an educated nation could not be kept in thrall.

As we have seen, Christian missionaries were among the earliest pioneers of English education, and they have played a great part in it ever since. They have given a sound secular education, but have done much harm to religion, not by conversion—for conversion among the educated classes is rare—but by turning their pupils into materialists to a serious extent. The wave of materialism which swept over India was due less to the purely secular Government institutions than to the missionary establishments, where the ancient religions were treated as superstitions, and the boys quickly added Christianity to the same category. The civil danger of missionary education lies in the large number of aliens by whom it is carried on; Germans, French, Italians, Danes, Swiss, Americans, all take a hand in the education of Indian children—a condition of things neither dignified nor safe. They have been much favoured by the Christian Government, especially in South India, where they dominate the Senate of the University and the Education Department, and obtain the most lavish grants of public money, when there are "no funds" for helping non-Christian institutions. Moreover the "efficiency" so rigorously enforced on the jealously-eyed "native" institutions is relaxed for them, and irregularities are winked at which are seized on to injure the struggling schools under Indian control.

The national education carried on under Indian control has gradually created a new type of student, the equal intellectually of those educated in Government colleges, but with an earnest religious spirit joined to a patriotic

backbone and a willingness to sacrifice himself for the Motherland which is all his own. The older generation of Government students, in the nobler days of English education, showed the two latter qualities, but too often missed the first. The addition of religion gives the joyous optimism which marks the younger generation. We have seen the help given in the early days of Brāhmoism to education. The educational work of the Arya Samāja has been magnificent; their Dayanānda Anglo-Vedic College at Lahore is an institution based on the ordinary principles of English education, with the Arya Samāja religious teaching and the study of Sanskrit, the Vedas and Hindū literature added. Lala Hansrāj, a brilliant young scholar, dedicated his life to it, and in 1886 the School Department was opened. It has since been conducted entirely by Hindūs; its fees have been about half those of the Government institutions; in 1913 it had 1737 school and 903 college students, and it sends out into public life a steady stream of sturdy Hindūs, enlightened, liberal, and devoted to the Motherland. The Gurukula schools are on the old Hindū system; the boy is given over to his teacher after the sacred thread ceremony, and remains with him, apart from his family, till he is twenty-five years of age. How these young men will shape as they come out into the world cannot yet be said. There are many other schools carried on, and the Samāja is a leader in girls' education, and has many schools for the depressed classes.

The Theosophical Society started and nurtured the Central Hindū College at Benares, a successful institution, in which Hindūism is an integral part of the education given. It has never taken any money from Government, but has depended wholly upon voluntary gifts. After fifteen years of independent life, recognised as the leading National Hindū institution, it has now been handed over to the Hindū University, as the University College, thus expanding into fuller and larger life. The Society has founded several girls' schools as well as boys', in different parts of India, and the Theosophical Trust includes a college and some twenty schools. The Society has also a number of schools for the depressed classes, five in Madras and many in connection with its Lodges, and in Ceylon it has three Buddhist colleges and 225 Buddhist schools. Its members have instituted religious examinations, attended by thousands of children annually.

The Ramakrishna Mission, we believe, has some schools for outcasts.

The Musalman College at Aligarh is another great Indian institution, though permitting rather more Government interference than the others, and the community has other scattered schools.

The first direct movement towards English education in point of time was taken by a business man in Madras Presidency, Pachaiyappa Mudaliar, employed by the East India Company. His life was a very brief one, but forty years, spent in the turmoil of the Anglo-French conflicts, from 1754 to 1794, but in that short span he started English education in India, leaving a part of his fortune to spread a knowledge of the English language, thus becoming the pioneer in that, until then, untrodden path. Out of that, the Hindū college and school, bearing his name, have grown up in Madras, and other schools at Conjiveram and Chidambaram, the trustees of "Pachaiyappa's Charities" controlling the largest high school and the largest secondary school in the Presidency, and a well-equipped college with 700 students. It is now developing into a residential college, to become, it is hoped, a South India University.

There are some national schools in different parts of the country, and a noble movement was started by the National Council for Education in Bengal. But continual Government opposition and suspicion made its way very rough, and it was deserted by some of its supporters, probably in consequence of Government pressure and police annoyance. The Ferguson College at Poona is a great educational institution, built up by much self-sacrifice and devotion. In these many independent educational activities there is much hope for the future.

Has English education caused disloyalty in India? Sir Valentine Chirol has no doubt of it. The *Times* has no doubt of it. Presumably Lord Curzon had no doubt of it, since the Hon. Mr. Raleigh, in introducing the Universities Bill of 1904, said it had been a blessing and a curse, for we owed to it "the discontented B.A.," and the "great army of failed candidates who beset every avenue to subordinate employment." Mr. Gokhale pointed out in answer that Indians educated in Oxford and Cambridge came back even more discontented. He went on:

The truth is that this so-called discontent is no more than a natural feeling of dissatisfaction with things as they are, when you have on one side a large and steadily growing educated class of children of the soil, and on the other a close and jealously-

guarded monopoly of political power and high administrative office. This position was clearly perceived and frankly acknowledged by one of the greatest of Indian Viceroys—Lord Ripon—who, in addressing the University of Bombay in 1894, expressed himself as follows: “I am very strongly impressed with the conviction that the spread of education, and especially of Western culture, carried on as it is under the auspices of this and the other Indian universities, imposes new and special difficulties upon the Government of this country. It seems to me, I must confess, that it is little short of folly that we should throw open to increasing numbers the rich stores of Western learning; that we should inspire them with European ideas, and bring them into the closest contact with English thought; and then that we should, as it were, pay no heed to the growth of those aspirations which we have ourselves called forth. To my mind one of the most important, if it be also one of the most difficult, problems of the Indian Government in these days is how to afford such satisfaction to those aspirations and to those ambitions as may render the men who are animated by them the hearty advocates and the loyal supporters of the British Government.” My Lord, I think it is in the power of Government to convert these “discontented B.A.’s” from cold critics into active allies by steadily associating them more and more with the administration of the country, and by making its tone more friendly to them and its tendencies more liberal. This, I think, is the only remedy for the evil complained of, and I am sure there is none other.

The question must be faced. Lord Curzon’s policy of “healthy decrease” has intensified the discontent. It can only be met in one of two ways: abolish education, and face a revolution; or spread education and establish Self-Government in India.

This is no new question. It was seen by Macaulay, and the second alternative was chosen by him. Speaking in the House of Commons in 1833, on the question of admitting Indians to high office in their native land, abolishing the colour bar, he said:

Are we to keep the people of India ignorant in order that we may keep them submissive? Or do we think that we can give them knowledge without awakening ambition? Or do we mean to awaken ambition and to provide it with no legitimate vent? Who will answer any of these questions in the affirmative? Yet one of them must be answered in the affirmative, by every person who maintains that we ought permanently to exclude the natives from high office. I have no fears. The path of duty is plain before us; and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour.

The destinies of our Indian empire are covered with thick darkness. It is difficult to form any conjecture as to the fate reserved for a State which resembles no other in history, and which forms by itself a separate class of political phenomena. The laws which regulate its growth and its decay are still unknown to us. It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or to retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. To have found a great people sunk in the lowest depths of slavery and superstition, to have so ruled them as to have made them desirous and capable of all the privileges of citizens, would indeed be a title to glory all our own. The sceptre may pass away from us. Unforeseen accidents may derange our most profound schemes of policy. Victory may be inconstant to our arms. But there are triumphs which are followed by no reverse. There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. Those triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws.

The day is here. But Macaulay is dead.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is an educated Indian who became, and probably still is, very discontented. He remarked:

We are made B.A.'s and M.A.'s and M.D.'s, &c., with the strange result that we are not yet considered fit to teach our countrymen. We must yet have forced upon us, even in this (Education) Department, as in every other, every European that can be squeezed in (p. 211).

Again :

The introduction of English education, with its great, noble, elevating, and civilising literature and advanced science, will for ever remain a monument of good work done in India and a claim to gratitude upon the Indian people. This education has taught the highest political ideal of British citizenship and raised in the hearts of educated Indians the hope and aspiration to be able to raise their countrymen to the same ideal citizenship. This hope and aspiration as their greatest good are at the bottom of all their present sincere and earnest loyalty, in spite of the disappointments, discouragements and despotism of a century and a half (p. vi).

He writes to the India Office in 1880:

The thousands that are being sent out by the universities every year find themselves in a most anomalous position. There is no place for them in their Motherland. . . . They may perish or do what they like or can, but scores of Europeans must go from this country to take up what belongs to them, and that in spite of every profession, for years and years past and up to the present day, of English statesmen, that they must govern India for India's good. . . . The educated find themselves simply so many dummies, ornamented with the tinsel of school education, and with them their whole end and aim of life is ended. What must be the inevitable consequence?

Moreover he quotes well-known Englishmen; Sir John Malcolm says (pp. 57, 58):

If we do not use the knowledge we impart it will be employed against us. . . . If these plans are not associated with the creation of duties that will employ the minds which we enlighten, we shall only prepare elements that will hasten the destruction of our Empire.

The Duke of Devonshire is very definite (pp. xi, xii) :

It is not wise to educate the people of India, to introduce among them your civilisation and your progress and your literature, and at the same time to tell them that they shall never have any chance of taking any part or share in the administration of the affairs of their country, except by getting rid in the first instance of their European rulers.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji also points out that English education is unifying India, and that a sympathy of ideas and aspirations is developing among the people; political union is the first fruit of the awakening, "as all feel alike their deprivation and the degradation and destruction of their country. . . . Politics now engross their attention more and more" (p. 207).

On all sides it is now admitted that the loyalty of the educated classes to the Crown and the Empire in this hour of sore trial has been perfect. How is it then that education has at once made them deeply resentful and yet loyal? The answer is very simple. English education has made them see the glory of English liberty, and they are passionately desirous of sharing it. English education has made them realise that they are the intellectual equals of Englishmen,

and that even if they were not, they have exactly the same right to govern their own country as the Englishmen have to govern theirs. Hence English education has made them profoundly discontented with the autocracy of the Secretary of State, administered here by a haughty bureaucracy, whereof Macaulay said in prophetic words :

God forbid that we should inflict on her the curse of the new caste, that we should send her a new breed of Brahmins, authorised to treat all the native population as Pariahs (*Speeches*, p. 73).

But English education has also made them loyal, because they believe that the best realisation of their aspirations is in becoming a Self-Governing unit in the Federal Empire of which Great Britain will be the centre, and because they thus desire, they are fighting for that Empire to-day.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

THE rising spirit of Indian aspiration, nourished on English education, could but inspire patriotism and desire for freedom. The movements dealt with in Chapter I, passing into education under national control, inevitably sought expression in concerted political action, and the editor of the *Indian Mirror*, writing in 1889, tells us—himself having been present—that a very successful Convention of the Theosophical Society at Adyar had been held in Christmas week, and he proceeds (quoted in *Theosophist*, September 1889) :

The delegates who attended the Convention were most of them men who, socially and intellectually, are the leaders of the society in which they move in the different parts of the country. When the Convention closed, and the delegates broke up to return to their homes and to everyday work, a dozen or so of their number as well as a few Madras Hindū gentlemen met by private arrangement at the house of one of the best known and most esteemed citizens of Madras.

The editor of the *Indian Mirror* was one of those who attended the Annual Convention of the Theosophical Society and the subsequent meeting at Madras, at which the first programme of the Congress was drafted and its organisation sketched out. Among

those who were then appointed members of provisional committees were the following gentlemen :

Hon. S. Subramania Iyer, M. R. Ry. P. Rungiah Naidu, and M. Ry. P. Anunda Charlu, Madras.

Babu Norendro Nath Sen, Babu Surendranath Banerji, and Babu M. Ghose, Calcutta.

Hon. V. N. Mandlik, Hon. K. T. Telang, and Dadabhai Naoroji, Esq., Bombay.

Pandurang Gopal, Esq., and M. R. Ry. Cuppusawmy Vijiaranga Mudaliar, Poona.

Babu Kasi Prasad, and Pundit Lashminarayas, N.W.P.

Sirdar Dyal Singh, Benares.

Lala Harischander, Allahabad.

Babu Charu Chunder Mitter, Bengal.

Lala Sri Ram, M.A., B.L., Oudh.

The meeting was not held at the Headquarters, as the President thought that would compromise the neutrality of the Society, but at the house of the famous Hindu patriot Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao. These provisional committees took up the matter of organisation, and it was decided in March 1885 to hold a "Conference of the Indian National Union" in the Christmas week of that year. The meeting was to be held at Poona, but cholera broke out a few days before the date of meeting, and it was decided to hold the Congress—the name decided on—in Bombay. There seventy-two representatives of the First National Congress met, sent up from all parts of the country to embody the claims of India as a nation, and with them about another thirty devoted friends and supporters. Babu W. C. Banerji of Calcutta was the First President ; he was proposed by the "Father of the Congress," Mr. A. O. Hume, seconded by the Hon. S. Subramania Iyer, supported by the Hon. K. T. Telang, and unanimously elected. In that meeting, held at noon on December 28, 1885, modern India became articulate, and from that day onward none could say that she consented to her own bondage. It was a remarkable assembly, including men whose names became household words : Dadabhai Naoroji, P. M. Mehta, D. E. Wacha, N. G. Chandaverkar, G. Subramania Aiyar, P. Ananda Charlu, Gangaprasad Varma, Norendranath Sen, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, Sitaram H. Chiplonkar, P. Kesava Pillai—brave men and true, ready to face ridicule and official disapproval for their country's sake. Among friends were the Hon. Sir William Wedderburn, Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunath Rao, the Hon. M. G. Ranade. Professor R. G. Bhandarkar,

and Lālā Baijnath. The President defined the objects of the Congress as :

(a) The promotion of personal intimacy and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in our country's cause in the parts of the Empire.

(b) The eradication, by direct friendly personal intercourse, of all possible race, creed, or provincial prejudices amongst all lovers of our country, and the fuller development and consolidation of those sentiments of national unity that had their origin in their beloved Lord Ripon's ever memorable reign.

(c) The authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited by the fullest discussion of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day.

(d) The determination of the lines upon, and methods by which, during the next twelve months, it is desirable for native politicians to labour in the public interests.

It is interesting to note the nine resolutions with which the Congress began its great work. The first asked for a Royal Commission on Indian Administration ; the second for the abolition of the Council of the Secretary of State ; the third for reform of the Local Legislative Councils by the admission of elected members, the creation of Councils for the N.W.P. and Oudh, and the Panjab, the submission to these Councils of budgets, the right of interpellation, the creation of a standing Committee of the House of Commons to receive and consider protests ; the fourth asked for simultaneous examinations. Then came two on military expenditure, and one against the annexation of Burma. The eighth directed the resolutions to be sent to political associations, and the last ordered that the next sitting of the "Indian National Congress" should be held in Calcutta, on December 28, 1886.

The meeting created much stir, and the Bombay representative of the *Times* wrote on it and remarked that "for the first time, perhaps, since the world began, India as a nation met together." It noted that no one touched on the "question of their ability to govern themselves," and said that while

There was much crude talk, much of that haste which only makes delay, and that ignorance which demands premature concessions, there was also much of most noble aspiration and a sense of patriotism and national unity which is a new departure in the races of the East.

On this first meeting the *Times* commented

The first question which this series of resolutions will suggest is whether India is ripe for the transformation which they involve. If this can be answered in the affirmative, the days of English rule are numbered. If India can govern itself, our stay in the country is no longer called for. All we have to do is to preside over the construction of the new system and then to leave it to work.

The *Times* sees with a true prescience, though nothing is said of Self-Government yet, that such a Congress must go in that direction.

To throw it (the Viceroy's Council) open to elected members, and to give minorities a statutable right to be heard before a Parliamentary Committee, would be an introduction of Home Rule for India in about as troublesome a form as could be devised. Do what we will, the government of India cannot be made constitutional. . . . The educated classes may find fault with their exclusion from full political rights: political privileges they can obtain in the degree in which they prove themselves deserving of them. But it was by force that India was won, and it is by force that India must be governed, in whatever hands the government of the country may be vested.

The second Congress, with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji as President, was attended by 440 delegates, all elected, a great change from the first, and was representative of all parts of India, and the crowds of interested visitors amounted to thousands. It was noticeable for the introduction of a resolution appealing to the Government to allow Indians to volunteer, and Raja Rampal passionately complained that the nature of Indians was being degraded, and that England was "systematically crushing out of us all martial spirit, and converting a race of soldiers and heroes into a timid flock of quill-driving sheep." If that were completed, he said, India would have reason to regret that she had ever had anything to do with England. The Congress drew attention to the "increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India," and urged representative institutions to deal with it. Moulvi Syed Sharfuddin pointed out that "we want to be legislated for by people who have a real knowledge of our habits and customs; by people who understand us, who are of us, not by foreigners and strangers, however good their will." The principles of such representation were carefully laid down. Another resolution touched

a matter of constant grievance, and asked for the separation of judicial from executive functions. It was at this Congress that Pandit Madanmohan Malaviya first appeared, and carried the audience by storm. 3

The third Congress at Madras, under the presidency of Mr. Budruddin Tyabji, reiterated the resolutions of the second, but also asked that the higher grades of the Army might be opened to Indians and Military Colleges established, and that Indians might be allowed to possess and wear arms—modifying the Arms Act; Mr. Ali Muhammad Bhimji voiced the general feeling: "Who does not feel the degradation of not being allowed to become a Volunteer? Who does not feel the humiliation of being debarred from the use and practice of arms?" This humiliation still exists and is even more bitterly resented. Several speakers alluded to the value of Indians in the defence of the Empire that would accrue if their prayer were granted, should England ever be involved in a great war. That day has come, and the ungenerous policy of England has deprived her of help that would have ended the war in a few months; she has had a few who have battled gloriously, where she might have had millions, like Russia, which has always given commissions to the people of the countries she conquered. The Congress also asked for technical education and the encouragement of indigenous industries, and began the first tentative steps towards organisation, which culminated in the present Constitution, sketched in 1907, and finally passed after various amendments in 1912.

It is impossible here to trace in detail the growth of this splendid national organisation, as it took up, year after year, the various political questions concerning the nation's welfare. While regarding the "National Party" as interested in all questions touching national progress, it considered itself as only the "political organ" of that party, excluding all other questions which might divide, and uniting on one political platform all who desired the political enfranchisement of India. It is the standing proof of the power of initiation and organisation in Indians, most of all shown in the troublous years 1905 to 1910. Its growing strength roused against it all that was reactionary in India, the pride of the white race, the autocracy of Government, the whole strength of the bureaucracy. The Viceroy, the Marquis of Dufferin, made the most unwise speech against it, charging it with sedition, grossly misrepresenting its aims, and inventing the scornful phrase which became famous, of the "micro-

scopical minority" of educated India. But the Congress grew the stronger for the storm, and three millions of men took part in the election of the 1500 delegates, of whom 1248 attended the fourth Congress, held at Allahabad in 1888. The Congress year by year repeated its demand for representative institutions, and the other points we have noted, and dealt with each great public question as it arose, with rare ability and courage, as might be expected in an assembly containing the intellectual flower of India.

The growing spirit of nationality began to chafe, more and more, against the immobility of the governing class here, and the indifference of Great Britain. The terrible famines of 1877, 1878, 1889, 1892, 1896-7, and 1899, and the appearance of plague in 1896 added urgency to the increasing poverty and the ever-growing indebtedness of the masses, and indignation grew vehement against the want of any adequate attempt to deal with the causes of distress. (Educated India felt at once its duty to its own people and its helplessness to save them, and out of this sense of the need for representative, and ultimately for Self-Government, grew apace.) The 1889 (fifth) Congress was notable for the presence of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., who raised immense enthusiasm, and who was appointed, with the consent of his own constituents, to bring in a Bill in the House of Commons, in India's name, as "Member for India," for giving representative character to the Councils.

Some trouble had arisen in Poona between the leaders of the National Party, the more liberal and reforming party on one side led by Mr. Justice Ranade, a man of rare ability and courage, and on the other by Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, intensely patriotic but also ultra-orthodox, and uniting a narrow Hinduism to a passionate demand for Indian liberty. His opposition to the Age of Consent Bill in 1890 and his antagonism to Muhammadanism, brought the bitter solvent of religious hatreds into the field of politics, and the unfortunate advent of Lord Curzon as Viceroy, with his reactionary policy in education and his high-handed Partition of Bengal, stirred up the anger of India to such a pitch that the National Party began to split into opposing sections, one headed by Mr. Tilak, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, and Mr. Arabindo Ghose, who saw no salvation for India save in total repudiation of any co-operation with the English, and the other, headed by Mr. Surendranath Banerji, Mr. Gokhale, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. D. E. Wacha, and the great bulk of the Congressmen, who, while normally "His Majesty's Opposition," as they

sometimes called themselves, were ready to co-operate with the Government where they agreed with the measures proposed. (In a free country, the two parties would have represented the Liberals and the extreme Radicals of Britain; in a country ruled by the foreigner, their domestic variances were taken advantage of to maintain its subjugation.) Lord Curzon's insane policy of aggravation, his repression of all the seething feelings he had provoked, his closing of all safety-valves, maddened the high-spirited populations of Bengal and Maharashtra; violence was openly advocated.

But the real blame for that advocacy lay with Lord Curzon, who had initiated a veritable reign of terror; in 1903, Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose, as President of the Congress at Madras, had complained of the Russian legislation under which Indians were living, and he reminded the British nation that while *lettres de cachet* were abolished in France in 1789, they were practically instituted in India in 1818 and 1821, and were revived by Lord Curzon, so that the brothers Nattu at Poona had been lately arrested and confined for a considerable period without any charge being made, or any trial. He spoke of the "Sedition Act of Draconian severity" and the prosecutions under it, and the Official Secrets Bill, which had made the most honoured feel unsafe. Even the *Englishman* spoke of the latter as a deliberate attempt to Russianise public affairs. Violence of the Government caused violence among the people, as it has done in other lands. England has used, and is still using, in India the violent methods of repression that she has ever condemned in other autocracies.

Things went from bad to worse, until Lord Curzon, having done his work, departed, and when the Congress met in its twenty-first session at Benares in 1905, all was dark; but it hoped for help from the newly-arrived Viceroy Lord Minto, sent by the Liberal Party which had regained power in that year to heal the wounds made by Lord Curzon. The state of affairs brought about by Lord Curzon is graphically described in the official Congress Report of that year (pp. 2, 3):

The Congress met at a great crisis in the political fortunes of this country. Never since the dark days of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty had India been so distracted, discontented, despondent; the victim of so many misfortunes, political and other; the target for so much scorn and calumny emanating from the highest quarters—its most moderate demands ridiculed and scouted, its most reasonable prayers greeted with a stiff negative, its noblest aspirations spurned and denounced as pure mischief or solemn nonsense, its most cherished ideals hurled down from

their pedestal and trodden under foot—never had the condition of India been more critical than it was during the second ill-starred administration of Lord Curzon. The Official Secrets Act was passed in the teeth of universal opposition. It was condemned by the whole Press—Indian and Anglo-Indian—protests from all quarters poured in, but Lord Curzon was implacable, and the Gagging Act was passed. Education was crippled and mutilated; it was made expensive and it was officialised; and so that most effective instrument for the enslavement of our national interest, the Indian Universities Act, was passed, and the policy of checking if not altogether undoing the noble work of Bentinck, Macaulay, and Lord Halifax, which for more than half a century has been continued with such happy results to the country, came in full swing. In the matter of employment of Indians in the higher grades of the public service, Lord Curzon, after several years of cajoling and shufflings, evasions, and mystifications, finding that his critics were too shrewd to be caught by fine phrases, was at last compelled to throw off his mask, and tell the educated Indians publicly, with that downright frankness which is the last refuge of a baffled Machiavellian, that the bar sinister of race was between them and the higher posts which they coveted, that their hopes in that direction were vain and doomed to disappointment, and that in relying upon the Queen's Proclamation they were relying upon a broken reed. The secret circulars encouraging the employment, on a more extensive scale, of Eurasians and Christians at the expense of the other Indian communities also saw the light, and did much to shake public confidence in his outward professions. The unlucky Convocation Address raised the national temper to fever-heat, and the whole country was shocked and amazed. The whole Indian people, smarting under the afflictions of plague and famine, of broken pledges and repressive measures, rose as one man against the monstrous and studied insult, flung with a high magisterial air, at everything that they loved and revered, at their religion, their literature, their social institutions—at the forces which shaped their past, the hopes which animate the present, the ideals which beckon them onward from a dim and distant future. Never in the whole course of the history of British rule in India was the highest representative of the Sovereign denounced so strongly, publicly, and universally from one end of the country to the other as was Lord Curzon for his unjust, unwise, and impolitic pronouncement.

This bitter denunciation voices accurately the hatred felt by educated India towards Lord Curzon. Of this Congress the Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was President, and he declared that to find a parallel to Lord Curzon's administration it was necessary to go back to the times of Aurangzeb.

"The Indian's only business was to be governed, and it was a sacrilege on his part to have any other aspiration. In his scheme of things there was no room for the educated classes of the country." How bitter was the feeling aroused by the Partition of Bengal was shown by the words of this sane and cautious Reformer: after mentioning the men who had endeavoured to avert it, he declared: "If the opinions of even such men are to be brushed aside with contempt, if all Indians are to be treated as no better than dumb, driven cattle, if men, whom any other country would delight to honour, are to be thus made to realise the utter humiliation and helplessness of their position in their own, then all I can say is: 'Good-bye to all hope of co-operating in any way with the bureaucracy in the interests of the people.' I can conceive of no graver indictment of British rule than that such a state of things should be possible after a hundred years of that rule." When such words came from a Gokhale, it may be imagined how the hot, proud youth of Bengal felt the ruin of their province. Mr. Gokhale went on to justify the use of the boycott of English goods as an extreme measure, necessary to force the wrong done to Bengal on the attention of Great Britain, and he declared:

The domination of one race over another—especially when there is no great disparity between their intellectual endowments or their general civilisation, inflicts great injury on the subject race in a thousand insidious ways. On the moral side, the present situation is steadily destroying our capacity for initiative and dwarfing us as men of action. On the material side, it has resulted in a fearful impoverishment of the people.

Mr. Surendranath Banerji marked well the service Lord Curzon had done India by his tyranny:

He has built better than he knew; he has laid broad and deep the foundations of our national life, he has stimulated those forces which contribute to the upbuilding of nations; he has made us a nation; and the most reactionary of the Indian Viceroys will go down to posterity as the architect of the Indian national life.

But really Lord Curzon was a blessing in disguise, for his oppression forced the nation into resistance. The unhappy side was that the young men, many of them ruined for life by suspicion and injustice and driven from school and college for a few hot words, had rushed into secret conspiracy and

began to plan insurrection. Krishnavarma stimulated them from his safe European retreat, insinuated and at last openly advocated murder. The cruel ill-usage of Indians in South Africa added to the excitement, and when the 22nd Congress met in Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, 20,000 people, including 500 ladies, met to voice their protest against the South African outrages, to justify boycott, to demand the reversal of the Partition of Bengal, to claim Self-Government and National Education. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, the great lawyer, complained of the prosecution of schoolboys, and the prohibition and violent dispersal of public meetings, the shameful breaking-up by force of the Provincial Conference at Barisal, the Russian methods adopted by Englishmen; and he called on "the august mother of free nations, the friend of struggling nationalities and of emancipation all over the world," to "rise to the height of her duty." In his presidential speech, Mr. Naoroji claimed for the Indian the right of the citizen, and declared that India's claim "was comprised in one word, Self-Government, or Svarāj, like that of the United Kingdom, or the Colonies." Things went hardly during 1907; riots broke out in Rawalpindi; six men in high position were accused of inciting them; they lay in prison for six months while evidence was being manufactured, being refused bail, and on their trial they were triumphantly acquitted, the evidence being declared to be "suspicious, if not fabricated": the Arya Samāja came under suspicion; Lālā Lājpat Rai, a selfless and noble patriot truly called "the idol of the Panjab," was suspected, without any proof, of tampering with the loyalty of the Sikhs, and the wicked old ordinance of 1818 was used against him and others, the Russian ordinance which allowed deportation without trial; "eminent Indians have been seriously suspected and charged with the highest offences against the State, viz. exciting sedition, rioting, and the like, in most cases without justification"; there were press prosecutions; young men were publicly flogged, some were condemned to hard labour; the people were furious that a Liberal Government, with a John Morley ruling India, should discredit all Liberal traditions, break up public meetings, and pass a most arbitrary and tyrannical measure, the Seditious Meetings Act (Nov. 1, 1907); the *Yugantar* openly preached murder, and when the editor was sent to gaol, there was a meeting of Bengal ladies to present his mother with a congratulatory address. Naturally feeling ran high, and when the Congress met at Surat in 1907 on December 26th, the two parties which have already been mentioned, and which had

been going further apart in these troubled years, broke out into violent opposition; the sitting was suspended; and when the Congress reassembled on the 27th, an organised attempt was made to break up the meeting; the disorder was so great that the President, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, declared the meeting adjourned. Then came the prompt and statesman-like action that saved the Congress. The President, with Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Messrs. Surendranath Banerji, D. E. Wacha, G. K. Gokhale, and others called a meeting of delegates for the next day: 900 attended, Dr. Rash Behari Ghose presided, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Surendranath Banerji, Mr. Gokhale, and Lālā Lājpat Rai led the meeting, and a committee of 100 members was elected to draft a constitution, meeting at Easter. Mr. Gokhale proposed the list, and it was seconded by Dewan Bahadur L. Govindaraghava and carried, and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Messrs. Gokhale and D. E. Wacha were elected secretaries. The committee met at Allahabad on April 18th and 19th, 1908, and drafted a Constitution, which was circulated. The Congress met at Madras in 1908, making the acceptance of constitutional methods the condition for admission, discussed and warmly welcomed the Reform proposals, published on the 27th of November of that year, maintained its old position on all important measures, demanded the repeal of the deportation regulation, and the swift removal from the Statute Book of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Newspaper Prevention of Crimes Act, both passed that year, condemned the outrages that had occurred during the year, and demanded free and compulsory education. Since then the Congress has gone steadily on; the Constitution was worked under tentatively for two years, amendments being invited, sent up, and ordered by the Allahabad Congress, of 1910, to be reported on by the sub-committee by Oct. 1911, and to be laid before the next Congress at Calcutta in that year; some further amendments were proposed at Bankipur in 1912, and then the Constitution and Rules as amended were passed by that Congress. Though the so-called "Extremists," or "New Party," have held aloof since 1907, the nation recognises the Congress as embodying its will, and it is recognised by the Government also as the representative of the people, the present Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, receiving a deputation from it, and pointing out that its members could now bring before the Legislative Councils the measures they had advocated on the Congress platform.

1908 saw the beginning of murderous outrages, the wild actions of young men, stirred up by inflammatory appeals,

falling on hearts rendered furious by oppression, despairing of gaining liberty by constitutional means, and like all revolutionists, believing that crime ceased to be crime when committed for the sake of gaining freedom. In 1908, the first bomb was thrown by a young man who, as a boy of sixteen, had been expelled from school for refusing to salute the Lieutenant-Governor, and then refused admission to any other school—a cruel and extravagant punishment for boyish rudeness. He was caught hold of and used as a tool, threw the bomb into a carriage containing two ladies instead of, as he thought, a Government official; they were killed and he was hanged for the crime. Other murders followed, and panic spread among the officials—not unnaturally, few as they were among millions—and there was none strong enough to grasp the situation, to throw away Russian methods, and, by remedying wrong and giving liberty, pacify the angry people in the only sure way. Lord Minto, left to himself, might have done it, for he was of the fairest and truest British type, but with a rampant bureaucracy here, clamouring for coercion, and a timid and bewildered Secretary of State in England, fearing a rebellion, he was forced into a compromise. Only his firmness saved the Indian Councils Act of 1909, which gave much that the Congress had demanded, though the clever manipulation of election and appointment gave the enlarged Councils a steady Government majority, though a technically “non-official” one, save in the Supreme Council, where it was nakedly and unashamedly official. The Congress of 1909, at Lahore, through the mouth of its President, the Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, lamented the Regulations which had largely neutralised the original scheme of reform, had created separate electorates for Muhammadan but not for Hindu minorities, and had introduced other undesirable and unsound changes; as also the changes brought about in the Act itself in Parliament by the ever-mischievous Lord Curzon and Lord MacDonnell, the twin active evil geniuses of Indian liberty.

The following year, 1910, was marked by the passing of another Press Act—still in force—which virtually places the Indian Press at the mercy of the Executive, enables the latter to check criticism, to demand ruinous security which can be forfeited at will, to confiscate presses, and thus to destroy any journal to which it objects. The supposed appeal to the law has proved to be delusive; the High Courts are powerless. The Act is not confined to political purposes in practice but is twisted to strike at any editor whom a Government dislikes or fears, and the power of the “Governor-in-Council” may be

used by a single member, not even of the Executive, without the knowledge of his colleagues. No less than 208 prosecutions have taken place under this Act during 1910, '11, '12, '13, the highest figure, 77, being reached in 1913. The two leading Musalman papers, the *Comrade* and the *Zamindar*, have been prosecuted, the *Comrade* destroyed and the *Zamindar* kept under close supervision. Every Indian editor lives under the sword of Damocles, for there is no rule of application save the whim of the particular official. The result of the oppression is that criticism is tinged with bitterness, and resentment is universal. No good Government fears criticism, and the sensitiveness of the bureaucracy is the proof of its weakness. The whole of the Russian legislation should be repealed, all the fetters on press and meeting removed. The insolent claim of the police to intrude without warrant into private houses, where political business meetings to which the public are not admitted are being held, should be stopped by the authorities, and these constant incitements to violent resistance should be put an end to. House-searches for objectionable literature, now made without reason and in the houses of respectable and well-known gentlemen, should be abolished; the Criminal Investigation Department should cease to send its officers to shadow well-known patriots, and confine its attention to criminals; the police should be taught that they are the servants of the people, not a force of mercenaries maintained by a foreign Government to coerce them, so that they may no longer be dreaded by the ignorant and detested by the educated.

The Acts that should be repealed at the close of the war, if the Government do not trust the people enough to repeal them now, are: the *lettres-de-cachet* system, embodied in Regulation III of 1818 (Bengal), Regulation II of 1819 (Madras), Regulation XXV of 1827 (Bombay), Act XXXIV of 1850, and Act III of 1858. The State Offences Act, XI of 1857, only applying to any District that is or has been in a state of rebellion, and providing for trials of persons charged, should either be repealed, or the clause which excepts European-born natural subjects of the Crown should be expunged. The laws as to the Punitive Police—XXIV of 1859 (Madras) and V of 1861—should be repealed. So also the Indian Arms Act, XI of 1878, passed in panic under the influence of the Afghanistan War. It is not only felt as a constant humiliation, but it leaves the people at the mercy of armed decoits and a prey to wild beasts. The Government can neither protect the people, nor will allow them to protect

themselves. The whole group of panic legislation in 1907-1910 must go: the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, VI of 1907, making a meeting of more than twenty persons, even in a private house, a public meeting in a proclaimed area, and forbidding any public meeting without police permission—except Sheriffs' meetings and others specially exempted; forbidding any lecture, address, or speech likely to cause excitement or on "any political subject"; the Press Laws, VII of 1908 and I of 1910, imposing securities and allowing forfeiture of presses under the most arbitrary conditions, the pretended safeguards having proved fallacious, and every newspaper being subjected to the interpretation of the Act by the Local Government—which lately, in Madras, warned certain papers for a letter from an Englishman in a discussion on servants' virtues and vices, in which both sides were printed: the Explosive Substances Act, VI of 1908; the Criminal Law Amendment Act, XIV of 1908; the amendment of the Press Acts of 1867 and X of 1890 to a mere registration of books, if needed at all. Let the Government depend on the ordinary Criminal Procedure Code, and break these weapons unworthy of Britain. Let it meet the people frankly face to face and hear their grievances. Only when coercion is abolished, can a full and free discussion of the necessary changes be carried on.

This sketch would be incomplete, slight as it is, without a mention of the Servants of India Society, established by Mr. G. K. Gokhale on June 12, 1905, to "train men prepared to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit." Three years' study and training are spent in the Society's Home in Poona, and two more as ordered, making a five years' probation. The promises are rigid:

(a) That the country will always be first in his thoughts, and that he will give to her service the best that is in him.

(b) That in serving the country he will seek no personal advantage for himself.

(c) That he will regard all Indians as brothers and will work for the advancement of all, without distinction of caste or creed.

(d) That he will be content with such provision for himself and his family, if any, as the society may be able to make, and will devote no part of his energies to earning money for himself.

(e) That he will lead a pure personal life.

(f) That he will engage in no personal quarrel with anyone.

(g) That he will always keep in view the aims of the Society and watch over its interests with the utmost zeal, doing all he can to advance its work and never doing anything inconsistent with its objects.

The members are not yet numerous, but they are a host in themselves, well-trained in knowledge, utterly devoted. After Mr. Gokhale's passing away (February 19, 1915), the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri was chosen as the head of the Society, and a better choice could not have been made.

The "New Party" under Mr. Tilak, the Left Wing of the National Party, has been much crippled by the prosecution of its leaders in the troubles provoked by Lord Curzon. The fear felt by the Government was shown by the terrible severity of the sentences passed, while a justification of their main contention—unhappily striven for by a minority by crime—as to the wrong done to them was given in the noble action of the King-Emperor and his Government at Delhi, which reunited the severed parts of Bengal and turned "sedition" into loyalty to the Crown.

Among the causes which have worked to make strong and to unify the National Movement has been the ill-treatment of Indians in the Colonies; the heroic Passive Resistance Crusade in South Africa, under Mr. Gandhi, stirred the whole nation into passionate sympathy, and it was on the threshold of uprising in anger when Lord Hardinge, with consummate tact and insight, put himself at its head, and voiced its demand, compelling its protest to be listened to, and with the aid of Mr. Gokhale and Mr. Gandhi bringing about a partial settlement which may be improved in the future.

Of the strength of the National Movement there is no doubt. It has purged itself of the excesses provoked by oppression, and its demand is clear and strong, the demand of a nation that has reached self-consciousness, and that is determined to be free.

CHAPTER V

SELF-GOVERNMENT

THE Government of India is an autocracy, vested in the Secretary of State, as representing the Crown; he goes in and out with party changes, but is not directly responsible to the House of Commons. The East India Company had powers vested in it by renewable charters, the last of which was passed in 1853. The two bodies wielding authority—the Directors of the Company and the Board of Control

established in 1784 as the dominions of the Company grew, rendering necessary the first interference of Parliament in 1773—were swept away by the Government of India Act, 1858, by which the Government of India and the powers of the above two bodies were vested in the Crown; the change was announced in India on November 1st, 1858, by the Queen's Proclamation. The Company then ceased to have any authority in India, and was dissolved in 1874, after a chequered existence of 274 years.

The Charter Act of 1833—made for twenty years—was passed in a fortunate time, when Macaulay, then in the House of Commons, "was Secretary to the Board of Control, and James Mill, Bentham's disciple, was the examiner of Indian correspondence at the India House" (p. 81).¹ In this debate was made Macaulay's famous speech, already quoted, referring to India becoming self-governing under Britain's guidance, and there was a very general view that that consummation was to shape Britain's policy. It was the era of statesmen administering a trust, not the era of bureaucrats, clinging to privileges and powers as against the interests of the people of the country. The "Governor-General of India (instead of Bengal) in Council" was made the supreme authority and the Council consisted of three members, with a fourth member with limited powers, and four Presidencies—Bengal, Agra, Madras, and Bombay—were constituted, Madras and Bombay having Councils of two members only; these Council members received their appointments from the Secretary of State. The Presidency of Agra was never formed, the constituting of it being suspended by an enactment of 1835, but it was made, in 1836, a Lieutenant-Governorship without a Council; the long overdue granting of a Council—though the population numbers 48 millions—was last year (1914) proposed by the Secretary of State, and supported by the Supreme and Local Governments, but suspended by the action of Lords Curzon and MacDonnell, the anti-Indian twins, in 1915, causing the strong agitation now going on in the United Provinces (Agra and Oudh), and the formation of a League to obtain it. The important section of the Act, as leading towards Self-Government, and one eloquently pleaded for by Macaulay, was § 87, which declared that "No native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only

¹ Consult throughout Sir Courtenay Ilbert's *Government of India*, here quoted, ed. 1915. The statements, dates, &c., are based thereon, and the references, where not otherwise noted, are to its pages.

of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company" (pp. 88, 89). The Charter Act of 1853 continued that of 1833, with additional provisions, and added to the Governor-General's Council, for "legislative purposes," seven additional members, including four representative members from Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and the North-Western (now United) Provinces. It also provided for a fourth Presidency and a second Lieutenant-Governorship, and an Act of the following year gave the Governor-General of India in Council power to take under his control any part of the Company's territories, appointing the necessary administrative officers. Under this, Chief Commissioners (a title recognised in 1870) have been appointed in various parts. The Act of 1858 created the Secretary of State for India, with the India Council of fifteen members, whom he could overrule or ignore at pleasure. The Civil Service Examination was then established.

In the Proclamation of Queen Victoria, on taking over the rule of India, occurred the words which repeated in more admirable language the pledge of 1833; she said (quoted by Naoroji, p. v) :

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and these obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge.

When, by the blessings of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate . . . and to administer its government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

Mr. Naoroji also quotes the following :

Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, on the assumption of the title of Empress, 1st January 1877, at the Delhi Assemblage said :

But you, the natives of India, whatever your race and whatever your creed, have a recognised claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in

the administration of the country you inhabit. This claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognised by the Government of India as binding on its honour, and consistent with all the aims of its policy.

Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, March 1877, said:

The Proclamation of the Queen contains solemn pledges, spontaneously given, and founded upon the highest justice.

Jubilee of 1887. The Queen-Empress, in reply to the Jubilee Address of Congratulation of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, said:

Allusion is made to the Proclamation issued on the occasion of my assumption of the direct government of India as the charter of the liberties of the Princes and Peoples of India. It has always been and will be continued to be my earnest desire that the principles of that Proclamation should be unswervingly maintained.

These pledges have not yet been redeemed; they are admittedly treated as "scraps of paper." The Duke of Argyll (later Secretary of State for India), speaking in the House of Lords on March 11, 1869, said frankly:

With regard, however, to the employment of natives in the government of their country, in the Covenanted Service, formerly of the Company and now of the Crown, I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty, or the promises and engagements which we have made (Naoroji, p. 46).

In the first National Congress, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji quoted the Report of five members of the India Council, which, after quoting § 87 of the Act of 1833, said:

It is obvious therefore that when the competitive system was adopted it could not have been intended to exclude natives of India from the Civil Service of India.

Practically, however, they are excluded. The law declares them eligible, but the difficulties opposed to a native leaving India, and residing in England for a time, are so great, that, as a general rule, it is almost impossible for a native successfully to compete at the periodical examinations held in England. Were this inequality removed, we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope (*Report of First Congress*, p. 41).

Mr. G. Mukerji quoted a confidential minute of Lord Lytton referred to, Mr. Naoroji tells us, in the Despatch of the Government of India, May 2, 1878, the same Lord Lytton as is quoted above in his public utterances:

The Act of Parliament is so undefined, and indefinite obligations on the part of the Government of India towards its native subjects are so obviously dangerous, that no sooner was the Act passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it. Under the terms of the Act, which are studied and laid to heart by that increasing class of educated natives whose development the Government encourages, without being able to satisfy the aspirations of its existing members, every such native, if once admitted to Government employment in posts previously reserved to the Covenanted Service, is entitled to expect and claim appointment in the fair course of promotion to the highest posts in that Service. We all know that these claims and expectations never can, or will, be fulfilled. We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them; and we have chosen the least straightforward course. The application to natives of the competitive examination system as conducted in England, and the recent reduction in the age at which candidates can compete, are all so many deliberate and transparent subterfuges for stultifying the Act, and reducing it to a dead letter. Since I am writing confidentially, I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of England and of India appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear (*Ibid.*, pp. 48, 49).

After these frank confessions it is needless to labour the point further.

The Indian Councils Act, 1861, remodelled the Governor-General's Council, took away from it the power of interpellation and of discussing measures of the Executive, found inconvenient, and limited it "strictly to legislation" (p. 100). It gave expanded powers of legislation to the Governors of Madras and Bombay, who might nominate members "for legislative purposes," and similar nominated Legislative Councils were established for Bengal, the N.W.P., and the Panjab.¹ The Indian Councils Act, 1870, gave further powers

¹ The curious nomenclature may be a little puzzling to English readers. The Governor "in Council" means in his small council, appointed by the Secretary of State, and this is now usually spoken of as the "Executive Council." It is practically his Cabinet. Then, Governors being allowed to nominate "additional members for legislative purposes only," these, with the Executive Council, make the "Legislative Council" in each Province.

to the Governor-General to overrule his Council, and, as quite truly said, the Councils were "a sham" and "a farce." The Indian Councils Act, 1892, enlarged the number of members of the Indian Legislative Councils, and allowed discussion of the budget—not any power over it—and asking of questions under prescribed restrictions (p. 107).

A step forward was made in the direction of the reforms asked for by the National Congress in 1909. In 1906, Lord Minto, the Viceroy, drew up a Minute, pointing out that the growth of education demanded changes in the Government—the result prophesied by Macaulay and others—and appointed a Committee of his Council to consider "these novel conditions."

Sir William Hunter had foreseen these conditions when he said :

I cannot believe that a people numbering one-sixth of the whole inhabitants of the globe, and whose aspirations have been nourished from their earliest youth on the strong food of English liberty, can be permanently denied a voice in the government of their country. I do not believe that races . . . into whom we have instilled the maxim of "no taxation without representation" as a fundamental right of a people, can be permanently excluded from a share in the management of their finances. (Quoted in Naoroji, p. x.)

Sir John Malcolm says—following out the same line of thought :

We are not warranted by the history of India, nor indeed by that of any other nation in the world, in reckoning upon the possibility of preserving an Empire of such a magnitude by a system which excludes, as ours does, the natives from every station of high rank and honourable ambition. . . . If we do not use the knowledge which we impart it will be employed against us. . . . If these plans are not associated with the creation of duties that will employ the minds which we enlighten, we shall only prepare elements that will hasten the destruction of our Empire. The moral evil to us does not thus stand alone. It carries with it its Nemesis, the seeds of the destruction of the Empire itself. (Quoted by Naoroji, p. xi.)

It was Lord Minto's supreme merit that he realised that the time foreseen by these men had come, and that, if the Empire were to last, it was necessary to enter on the path which would lead to Indian Self-Government. The results reached were sent to Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, who expounded his views thereon in the House of Lords on December 17, 1908. These caused the joy expressed by

Congress in its session of that year. The Act embodying these views was introduced on February 17, 1909, and received the Royal Assent on May 25, with an amendment insisted on by the House of Lords, which compelled the Secretary of State, who was empowered to create an Executive Council for Provinces under Lieutenant-Governors, to submit the proposal to both Houses of Parliament. (It was this proviso which enabled Lords Curzon and MacDonnell to prevent the United Provinces from having an Executive Council this year.) In 1907 two Indians had been placed on the India Council, and in March 1909 Lord Morley had appointed the first Indian member, Mr. P. S. Sinha, to the Viceroy's Executive Council. One Indian was, later, appointed by the Secretary of State to each of the Executive Councils of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa.

The most important step in the direction of Self-Government in this Act was the introduction—so long demanded by the National Congress—of the principle of election into the Legislative Councils. The Act gave power to the authorities in India to frame Regulations, and these have largely taken away from its value, and were severely criticised in the National Congress of 1909. They were revised in 1912.

The majority in all the Legislative Councils, except that of the Viceroy, is nominally non-official; in the latter there is an official majority of 4. In the Supreme Council 27 members are elected out of 68; in Madras, 21 out of 48; so also in Bombay; in Bengal 28 out of 53; in Bihar and Orissa 21 out of 44; in the U.P. 21 out of 49; in the Panjab 8 out of 26; in Burma 1 out of 17; in Assam 11 out of 25; in the Central Provinces 7 out of 25. In all cases the Viceroy, Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Chief Commissioner is also a voting member and has a casting vote—not often needed. Moreover of elected members, to take one example, Madras: the Chamber of Commerce, all English, elects 1; the Trades' Association, nearly all English, elects 1; the Planting Community, all, or nearly all, English, elects 1; Landholders elect 5, and are very much influenced by Government. The other electorates, Corporation (1), Municipalities and District Boards (9), University (1), are largely English, or appointed by English. The Muhammadans (2) are freeing themselves. It will be seen that patriotic members have a very "hard furrow to plough." Nominated members are, as a rule, more official than the official, though there are some very good ones, and the words, a "non-official" majority, are entirely misleading. We should always speak of the "elected minority."

The greatest mischief done by the Regulations was the establishment of Muhammadan electorates, a sure way of intensifying religious divisions. It is supposed to be a way of protecting minorities, but the hollowness of the plea is shown by the fact that in the Panjab and in East Bengal, where Musalmans are in the majority, the Hindu minority does not enjoy a similar protection. The arrangement was made when Muhammadans were labelled loyal, and Hindus disloyal, *à la* Valentine Chirol.

The Province, under its Governor—or other Chief Officer—with his Legislative Council—is divided into Districts, with the District Magistrate, or Collector, at its head; in some Provinces, Districts are grouped into a Division, with a Commissioner as highest officer. District Boards and Municipalities—spoken of below—are practically their councils. Below these come Taluq Boards (in Madras) and similar bodies in other Provinces. The lowest unit is the village, with its headman, accountant and watchman. The old Village Council, or Panchayat, has been re-established in some Indian States, by their Chiefs, with the happiest results, and some have been established voluntarily in British India, and have proved successful. Their general establishment is one of the aims of reformers, as they form the natural basis for Self-Government, and are welcome to the villagers. Co-operative Panchayats work well; Forest Panchayats are being experimented with in Madras Province; Irrigation Panchayats, proposed by Mr. M. Ramchandra Rao in the Madras Legislative Council, are looked on fairly favourably by the Government, and the Decentralisation Commission reports in favour of establishing a Village Panchayat in every village. The new Member for Education in the Viceroy's Council, the Hon. Sir C. Sankaran Nair, is an authority on the subject, and a Bill for their establishment is to be brought in, in the Madras Parliament before mentioned, by Mr. T. Rangachariar, and is to be made the basis for popular education on the subject.

The *Report of the Decentralisation Commission*, in Part III., chap. xviii. p. 236 *et seq.*, remarks that the “villages formerly possessed a large degree of local autonomy, since the native dynasties . . . regarded the village as a whole. . . . This autonomy has now disappeared. . . . Nevertheless, the village remains the first unit of administration; the principal village functionaries—the headman, the accountant and the village watchman—are largely utilised and paid by Government, and there is still a certain amount of common village feeling and interests.” In Madras Province there are nearly 400

"Local Fund Unions," administered by panchayats, the headman of each village in the Union being *ex officio* a member of the panchayat. The Commission is not in favour of these, but thinks it "most desirable" to constitute and develop village panchayats for the administration of local village affairs. The panchayat should be elected by the villagers, assembled in meeting, and be assigned definite functions (pp. 240-245).

The first Act creating Municipalities (outside Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay), if we omit a local permissive Bengal Act in 1842, was a general and permissive Act in 1850, allowing town Committees to be formed which might levy indirect taxes. After this many local Acts were passed, and many Municipalities formed; Lord Mayo's Government passed a resolution in 1870, which recommended the "development of Self-Government" and the "strengthening of municipal institutions," associating Indians and Europeans more in the administration of affairs. Twelve years later, Lord Ripon's love for India led him to make efforts to widen civic liberty, and in 1883-4 Acts were passed in which "a wide extension was given to the elective system," and committees were allowed to elect a private citizen as Chairman instead of an official (*Imp. Gazetteer*, p. 286 *et seq.*). In 1906-7, there were in the whole of India only 19 towns with populations over 100,000, and 91 below 5000. Between 5000 and 10,000 there were 236, and between 10,000 and 100,000 there were 391. Altogether, India contained in 1906-7 737 municipalities, 5 less than in 1900-1. Each of the three Presidency cities has its own Act; we are concerned with them only as regards Self-Government; in Bombay (1888), with 72 Councillors, there are 36 elected by Wards, 16 by justices, 2 by University Fellows, 2 by the Chamber of Commerce—56 in all—and 16 nominated by Government. Calcutta (1899) has 50 Commissioners, 25 of whom are elected by Wards, 4 are appointed by the Chamber of Commerce, 4 by the Trades Association, 2 by the Port Trust, and 15 by Government: Madras (1904) has 36 Commissioners, 20 elected by Divisions, 3 by the Chamber of Commerce, 3 by the Trades Association, 2 by bodies chosen by the Government and 8 appointed by it. Bombay elects its own President, but in Calcutta and Madras the Local Government appoints the Chairman.

District Municipalities Acts lay down the conditions for the towns in seven Provinces, and vary in their details. In Bombay half are elected, half appointed. In Calcutta two-

thirds are elected; in Madras, "part" are elected and part appointed, the Governor in Council fixing the proportion and the election or appointment of the Chairman.¹

District Boards in Madras, taken all together, have nearly one-half of their members elected, but they must be chosen from the members of the Sub-District, or Taluq, Boards, and the members of Taluq Boards were nominated until 1914, but are now elected. In Bombay at least things are better, for one-half of both Taluq and District Boards must be elected. In Bengal, half the members of the District Boards are elected by the Sub-District Boards, and in the more advanced districts two-thirds of the Sub-District Boards are elected, while in others they are nominated. The Chairman of the District Board is nominated, and is generally the Collector (*Imp. Gazetteer*, p. 301).

We have here the material for a very practicable scheme of Self-Government, election being made universal and nomination done away with, save in very backward tracts, hill-tribe areas, and the like, the power to proclaim which might be left in the hands of the Governor's Cabinet in each Province.

The tentative scheme which has been put forward by the present writer, as a basis for discussion, and which has aroused some enthusiasm, is in outline as follows:

Main Principle: That each person shall have a vote, but that universal suffrage shall be limited to the election of Councils exercising control over small areas where only simple questions arise; that as the area becomes more extensive, and the questions arising more complicated, the interests concerned larger and more interdependent, the problems to be solved more complex and further-reaching, the electorates shall diminish in number, greater age and higher education being demanded as qualifications. The system suggested is one in which each has a voice, "with a share of the power of guidance over the things he (or she) understands, in which knowledge, experience, and high character shall be the credentials for power, and in which the area over which that power extends shall be proportioned to the development of these characteristics in the one who seeks to wield it."

1ST GRADE COUNCILS: Village (rural) and ward (urban) Panchayats. *Electors:* All adults resident in the area, of sound mind, free from crime, age twenty-one and over. *Duties:* Civil and criminal jurisdiction over petty cases arising within the

¹ All the Acts now in force have been edited by Mr. P. Duraiswami Aiyangar, in 2 vols., *The Law of Municipal Corporations in British India*.

village ; construction, maintenance, and control of the village school and attached workshops, the funds being chiefly supplied by the Provincial Parliament and assigned to the Panchayat through the District Council, the Education Department in which would fix the curricula and inspect the schools of the District ; sanitation ; irrigation and wells ; maintenance of roads within village ; lighting ; tree-planting ; club and reading-room ; credit bank and co-operative society. Other functions will accrue—arrangements for games, amusements, discussions, lecturers, &c. The Ward Councils would take up a similar class of duties, adding inspection of food-stuffs, of dairies and cowsheds, of wells and tanks, town-scavenging, provision of stands for hired vehicles and carts, troughs for horses and cattle, and the like small municipal work.

2ND GRADE COUNCILS : Sub-District or Taluq Boards, and Municipalities below a certain population. *Electors:* The members of the Village Panchayats in the Sub-District and Ward Councils, and men and women residing in the sub-district or ward, of the age of twenty-five and over, with education up to school-leaving level. Proportional representation desirable. *Duties:* The control of Secondary and High Schools ; the establishment of model farms in the country and technical institutes in towns ; the control of lighting, water-supply, canals and roads, where this part of the administration may be assigned to them by the District Boards ; where Co-operative Societies are not established, they should hold agricultural machinery for hiring to villagers, establish granaries for storage of grain, dairy-farms with stud bulls to be hired to villagers, breeding-stables for horses, and generally they should organise industry wherever individual capitalists or Co-operative Societies are not available. This side of their work, however, will be of late growth, as the people find it to their advantage to act collectively rather than individually."

3RD GRADE COUNCILS : District Boards in the country and Municipalities in towns over a certain population. *Electors:* The 2nd Grade Councils, and all men and women resident in the district or town over the age of thirty, and educated up to the Intermediate or other equivalent standard. All the business which concerns the whole district or town would be under their control ; roads, local railways, colleges—agricultural, industrial, arts, science, &c.—the assignment of the proportion of local taxation to be raised in the subdivisions of the district, and so on.

4TH GRADE COUNCIL : The Provincial Parliament. *Electors:* The Councils of the 3rd Grade, and all men and women over

thirty-five, resident in the Province and educated to the graduate level. *Duties* : The control of the Universities within the Province, and of all Provincial matters. All Provincial legislation would be its work; the levying of taxation, and the assignment of financial grants, of the levying of minor local taxes, the division of duties among the lower Councils, the whole of the administration of the Province and its relations with other Provinces and the Supreme National Government. The Cabinet of Ministers each with his own portfolio—education, law, home, agriculture, &c.—would be members elected to the Parliament and responsible to it. It is a moot point whether the Governor, appointed by the Crown, should receive the resignation of a Ministry defeated as a whole in Parliament, according to the present party system, and should call on a leader of another party to form a new Cabinet, or should call on the Parliament to elect the Ministers holding portfolios, so doing away with the “party” system, and making each man responsible for his own portfolio only.

Provincial Autonomy would be complete, and the Provinces, including the Indian States, would form the United States of India, with a Federal Parliament, the National Parliament, above them. The National Parliament would be elected by the Provincial Parliaments, and have its own Ministry, controlling national affairs, army, navy, railways, post, customs, &c. Some such Federation is necessary to meet the varieties of types, customs, development, and general conditions over the vast areas of India, and to unite it into one nation.

By the National Parliament would be elected India's representatives in the Parliament of the Empire.

Such is a possible scheme of Self-Government, offered as a contribution to debate. It utilises existing materials, but replaces everywhere election by the People for selection by a Government.

CONCLUSION

I SUM up this little book, which seeks to justify India as a nation claiming her freedom, with an appeal I wrote in *New India*, a daily paper, at the close of some articles on Self-Government. It puts, as strongly as I can put it, India's appeal to England :

O English Nation ! Great and free and proud. Cannot you see ? Cannot you understand ? Cannot you realise that your Indian brothers feel now as you would feel if a foreigner ruled in your land ? That to be a stranger in your own country, an

alien in your own land, with no rights save those given by grace of a Government not your own, your inferiority taken for granted, your capacities weighed in alien scales, and measured by the wand of another nation—you could not bear such a state, such an outlook. India is patient, as you would not be. She does not want to break the link; she wants to remain part of the Empire; but an equal part, a Self-Governing Community, standing on a level with the Self-Governing Dominions. Is this passionate longing, sedition? Is this ineradicable hope, treason? You dare not say so, you who bred Hampden, and Sidney, and Milton, you whose glory is your Freedom, you who boast of your Empire as an Empire of the Free. Who dared to ask if you were fit for freedom? Charles I asked it. James II asked it. History records the answer that you gave.

Is India fit for Freedom? She claims it as her Right. You will not say her, Nay. She proves her equality in death on the battlefield. Will you refuse it when the peace she has made possible, broods over your homes? Would they have been as safe from the German, if Indian breasts had not formed part of your shield?

What does India want? She wants everything that any other nation may claim for itself. To be free in India, as the Englishman is free in England. To be governed by her own men, freely elected by herself. To make and break Ministries at her will. To carry arms; to have her own army, her own navy, her own volunteers. To levy her own taxes; to make her own budgets; to educate her own people; to irrigate her own lands; to mine her own ores; to mint her own coin; to be a sovereign nation within her own borders, owning the paramount power of the Imperial Crown, and sending her sons to the Imperial Council. There is nothing to which any man can aspire in his own land from which the Indian must be shut out here.

A large claim, you say. Does the Englishman ask less for himself in England? If yes, what is there strange that an Indian should ask the same for himself in India? What is the radical difference between them which should make an Indian *content* to be a thrall? It is not the "angle of vision" that needs changing. It is the eye, purified from pride and prejudice, that can see clearly, and the heart, purged from arrogance, that can beat with healthy strokes.

England and India hand-in-hand. Yes, that is our hope, for the world's sake. But that it may be so, Justice must replace inequality; for India can never be at rest, till she is free.

INDEX

- ĀDI-BRĀHMO Samāja**, 22, 32
Administrative system of India,
 80, 84 *et seq.*
 — reform of, 85
Aiyar, C. P. Ramaswami, 60
Ārya Samāja, 23-26, 32, 33
 — educational work of, 61

BENGAL, partition of, 71, 74
Besant, Mrs. Annie, 28 *et seq.*
Blavatsky, Mme. H. P., 24, 26
Brāhmo Samāja, the, 20-23
 — relations to other move-
 ments, 32
British, early settlements in
 India, 16

CHANDRA Sen, Keshab, 22, 31,
 32
Charter Act, 81
Chirol, Sir Valentine, 23, 25, 29,
 34, 57, 58, 62
Church dignitaries, salaries of,
 45
Church schools, 45
Civil Service, the Indian, 13
Curzon, Lord, educational policy
 of, 56, 63, 72 *et seq.*

DEGREES, expenses of taking,
 46
Disloyalty and discontent, 64
 et seq.
District Boards, 87, 89

EAST India Company, 80
Economic position of India, 34
 et seq.
Education, 50-66
 — administration of, 56
 — elementary, 55, 57, 59
 — English, 52, 53, 54 *et*
 seq., 62
 — Government, 55
 — Lord Curzon's policy, 56, 63,
 72
 — missionary, 60
 — national, 60 *et seq.*
 — technical, 57

FAMINE relief, cost of, 34, 36

GANDHI, Mr., 80
Gokhale, Mr., 56, 57, 58, 59, 62,
 74, 80
Government, cost of, 35, 44

HINDUISM, 19 *et seq.*
Historical review, 13

INDIANS, admission to office, 63,
 83, 86
 — appointment to Government
 service, 46
 — in Colonies, treatment of,
 75, 80
 — representation of, 82, 86
Industries, indigenous, treat-
 ment of, 35, 46-49
Insurrection and riots, 74, 75,
 76
Irrigation works, cost of, 49

JAPAN, education in, 57, 60

LAND-TAX, 39
Laws, amendment of, 78 *et seq.*
Legislative Councils, 86
Legislative measures, harsh, 77
 et seq.
Literature, Hindu, 14, 19, 53

- MACAULAY, Lord, on self-government and representation, 51, 63
- Minto, Lord, 72, 77, 85
- Missionaries, educational work of, 52, 60
- Movements, religious, relations of, 32
- Municipalities, administration of, 88
- NATIONAL Congress, the, 29
— meetings of, 67 *et seq.*, 75
— opposing parties in, 71, 73, 76
— reconstitution of, 76
- National movement, the, 20, 62, 66-80
- Naoroji, Dadabhai, quoted, 64-65, 69
- "New Party," the, 71, 80
- Nivedita, Sister, 31, 32
- OFFICIAL Secrets Act, 72, 73
- Olcott, Col. H. S., 24, 26
- PACHAIYAPPA Mudaliar, educational work of, 62
- Panchama Free Schools, 29
- Panchayats, re-establishment of, 87
- Poverty, 34, 35 *et seq.*
- Prārthanā Samājas, 22, 32
- Press Act, 77
- Proclamation of Queen Victoria, 82
- Provinces, administration of, 87
- Public works, 35, 49-50
- RAGORE, Rāja Dwarkanāth, 22
- Rai, Rāma Mohan, 20, 52, 53
- Railways, cost of, 49, 50
- Rāmakrishna Mission, 20, 21, 30-32, 34
- Religious revival, 19, 20
- Representation of Indians, 17, 18, 37, 82, 86
- Riots, 75
- SANITATION works, 49
- Sarasvati, Dayānanda, 23
- Sati, 20, 21
- Schools, 54 *et seq.*
- Self-government, 18, 19, 68, 69, 80-92
— scheme for, 89 *et seq.*
- Servants of India Society, 79
- Social reforms of Theosophical Society, 30
- Svami Vivekānanda, 30, 31 *et seq.*, 34
- Swadeshi movement, the, 48
- TAGORE, Abanindranath, 22
— Debendranāth, 22
- Taxation, 35, 36, 39-44
- Technical education, 57
- Theosophical Society, 20, 21, 24, 26-30, 33
— educational work of, 61
- UNITY of India, 13, 14, 19
- VEDA Samāja, 22
- Village Councils, 87
- WEALTH of India, 14, 15
- ZOROASTRIAN revival, 20

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